

ARCHAEOLOGIA:  
OR  
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS  
RELATING TO  
ANTIQUITY.

VOLUME IV.



ARCHAEOLOGIA

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

ANTIQUITY





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**PUBLISHED BY**  
**THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.**  
**VOLUME, IV.**



**L O N D O N,**  
Printed by J. NICHOLS, Printer to the Society;  
and sold at their APARTMENTS in SOMERSET PLACE; and by Messieurs  
WHITE, ROBSON, LEIGH and SOTHEY, and BROWN.  
**MDCCLXXXVI**



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C O N T E N T S

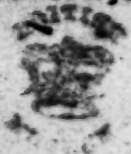
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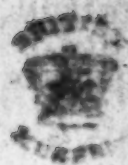
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**ARCHAEOLOGIA:**

**MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.**

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**I. *A further Account of some Remains of Roman and other Antiquities in or near the County of Brecknock in South Wales. By John Strange, Esq;***

**Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 17, and June 9, 1774.**

*Est quodam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.*

**HORAT. Epist. Lib. I. i. 32.**

**T**HOUGH many circumstances particularly favour the researches of the early Antiquaries in all countries; yet the attempts of the latter are not altogether useless, and deserve the more encouragement, as they are commonly attended with

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**B**



**greater**



greater difficulties. The approbation, therefore, which this learned Society was pleased to show to my former account of ~~some remains of Roman and other Antiquities in Brecknockshire,~~ encourages me to communicate some further remarks of the like nature, which were either omitted in that account, or have occurred to me since the communication of it.

In my former paper [a] I expressed a diffidence of the opinion generally received among the learned, that the principality of Wales supplied very few remains of Roman Antiquities. Among other reasons that occurred to make this opinion of little weight with me, the principal was, that, as far as I could learn, no diligent researches of this kind had ever been made in the country by Antiquaries themselves. Gyraldus Cambrensis confined his inquiries principally to Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and was so indifferent to the rest, that at Nangle, near Bangeston, in Pembrokehire, where he was vicar, there are still some very considerable remains, which are totally unknown. Perhaps this learned man was influenced in his inquiries by archbishop Baldwin, whom he attended in the Tour of Wales. But I am rather inclined to think, that the same byass of superstition, which directed our early archaeological writers in general, laid hold of him also, and deprived us of the advantages we might otherwise have reaped from his talents. Lhwyd, who has been the only formal inquirer since Gyraldus's time, though a native of Wales, and a man of distinguished learning and abilities, yet seems to have depended more upon the faith of others, than upon his own observations, as I have already observed, and is evident enough from the imperfect account he has given of the Roman camp at the *Gaer* near Brecknock,

[a] Printed in the first vol. p. 292.



and of *Maen y Morinnion*, or the maiden stone, near the *Gaer*, which he does not admit to be Roman, though the fragment of a Roman inscription engraved upon it in good characters is still legible. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the same name, *Maen y Morinnion*, has been given to other similar monumental stones in different parts [b], whatever may be the reason of it. It has also been a notion with other Antiquaries, though with as little foundation, that few, if any, Roman remains were to be seen beyond Exeter. The same prejudice seems therefore to have been extended to the whole western part of our island. Nor is this extraordinary, if we consider its distance from the capital, and the wild, mountainous, and barren nature of the countries themselves. For, notwithstanding some vestiges of the Romans in those parts, which have the sanction of the Itineraries, and have long since been acknowledged by the more reputed Antiquaries, it was reasonable enough to imagine, that countries, so situated, should hardly afford those marks of settlement, which peculiarly characterize the more fertile, habitable, and less remote provinces: and such a persuasion might naturally enough prevent, in general, any further inquiries. Another source of prejudice on this subject seems to flow from the too rigid attention usually paid to the itineraries: insomuch that some have thought it superfluous to look for a station out of their direction. Others again have even imagined, that there were scarcely any more than the four great Roman roads through this island, notwithstanding the many Roman camps in it, which are situated wide of these roads. It appears from the *Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*, as well as from Ravennas the Monk, that the Romans had many

[b] Gordon's *Iter Septentr.* Part II. p. 62. pl. 59. Fig. 1, 2.



more fortified places and cities, in this island, than those mentioned by Antoninus; and Richard the Monk also himself confesses, at the end of his *Diaphragmata*, that many Roman stations existed unnamed. For such as lay out of the great roads, are of course seldom or never mentioned in the itineraries. But, surely, these reasons ought rather to encourage our researches, especially in those parts which have been most neglected. In fact they encouraged me, and flattered me with the hopes of some discoveries of this kind in my journey through Wales. Little can indeed be expected from the fugitive researches of a traveller, let his curiosity and diligence be ever so great. It is to be hoped, however, that my endeavours will not be found altogether fruitless; and that they will, at least, encourage other gentlemen, of more leisure, and abilities, than myself, to make discoveries of greater importance. But it is time to turn to the subject of my present inquiries, which I shall still confine to Brecknockshire, and its neighbourhood, that I may not trespass too far upon the indulgence which the Society is pleased to shew me.

In the former paper, which I had the honour to communicate to this learned body, I mentioned the discovery of a Roman station at *Cwm*, in the parish of *Llanier*, about a mile and a half northwest of *Llandrindod*, near the river *Ithon* in Radnorshire, on the borders of Brecknockshire; which station I then thought much more likely to be Bullaeum of Ptolemy, than either *Buablt* or *Kaereu*, where I found no signs of the Romans. But I am still more inclined to fix *Magnis* of Antoninus at *Cwm*; and for the following reasons. First, from its situation, which agrees well enough with the direction of the twelfth *iter*, to which *Magnis* belonged; and, secondly, from the distance between *Cwm* and

*Abergavenny*.



*Abergavenny*, which, if taken in a straight line, differs but little from the distance marked in the itinerary between *Gabannium* and *Magnis*, and which is twenty-two miles. At least in these respects *Cwm* agrees much better with *Magnis*, than either *Lidbury*, where Baxter [c] would place, or old *Radnor*, where it is fixed by Burton [d]. Nor do I recollect to have observed any certain remains of Roman antiquities at either of these places; whereas the remains at *Cwm* are not only indisputably of Roman origin, but very considerable. In inquiries of this kind it is very necessary to have a local knowledge of the countries in question, since stations cannot easily be determined in the closet, like etymologies; and they, who have no other reliance, are commonly apt either to fall into mistakes of their own, or to perpetuate those of others. Baxter has already observed, that Camden confounds *Magnis* with *Magi*. *Cwm*, or rather *Combe*, in Saxon, signifies a valley between hills; which answers well enough to the situation of this place in the vale of *Ithon*.

I SHALL now beg leave to communicate to the Society some further particulars relating to the station at *Cwm*, which I received some time ago from my intelligent and worthy friend Mr. Charles Powell of *Castlemadoc* in Brecknockshire, who, at my request, first favoured me with a circumstantial account of it. This gentleman, by letter dated the sixth of November 1769, writes to me in the following words: "I have since been  
" informed by Mr. Jones, who was born in the neighbourhood  
" of *Llandrindod*, that there are still considerable remains of a  
" Roman road, or causeway, leading in a direct line from this  
" camp at *Cwm* towards *Buablt*. It is a raised way, between  
" thirty and forty feet wide, made on a deep, clayey, soil, with

[c] Glossar. voc. *Magnis*.

[d] Anton. Itin. p. 251.

" large



large pebbles and gravel, bound hard together. It is at present overgrown with grass." The same gentleman further says, that many Roman coins have been found at different times in the adjacent parishes. I shall here observe, that the other Roman roads in Wales are also made with pebbles; and Bergier [e] says, that all the Roman roads throughout Great Britain were *ex glare factae*. It requires indeed less labour, as well to collect, as to employ, such materials, in preference to others that require workmanship. But since the Romans were great in every undertaking, and never wanted hands in any, perhaps their choice might depend upon other motives; and the elder Pliny seems to assign a very probable one, when, speaking upon this subject, he observes, that such kind of materials are of greater resistance; *globosus lapis contra injurias fortis* [f].

Riding over a high, open, and barren tract between *Castlemadock* and *Llanworbid* wells in the vale of *Ircon* in Brecknockshire, I was informed, that, in different parts of it, there were also visible remains of a Roman causeway lying nearly in a western direction. Perhaps these remains may be parts of a Roman road that led to *Maridunum* or Caermarthen, the *caput Demetarum*, from the stations in and near Radnorshire. Perhaps also this road joined another Roman road, which I suppose to have led from the *Gaer* near Brecknock along the valley westward, and so over Trecastle hill into the vale of *Llanindover* in Carmarthenshire; a part of which road I likewise supposed, in my former account, to be the remnant observed at *Rhyd y Brew* bridge at the foot of Trecastle hill. For it is highly probable, that some road of communication

[e] De publicis et militaribus imperii Romani viis. Lib. ii. sect. 30.

[f] Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. cap. 22.



Fig. 1. p. 7.



Fig. 2. p. 7.

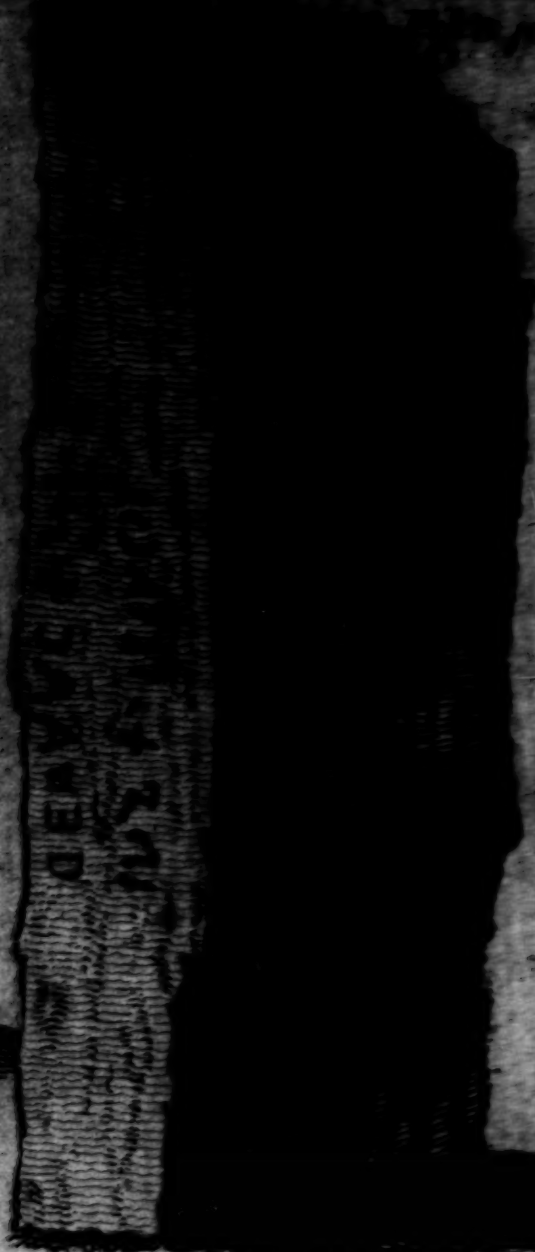


Fig. 4. p. 20.



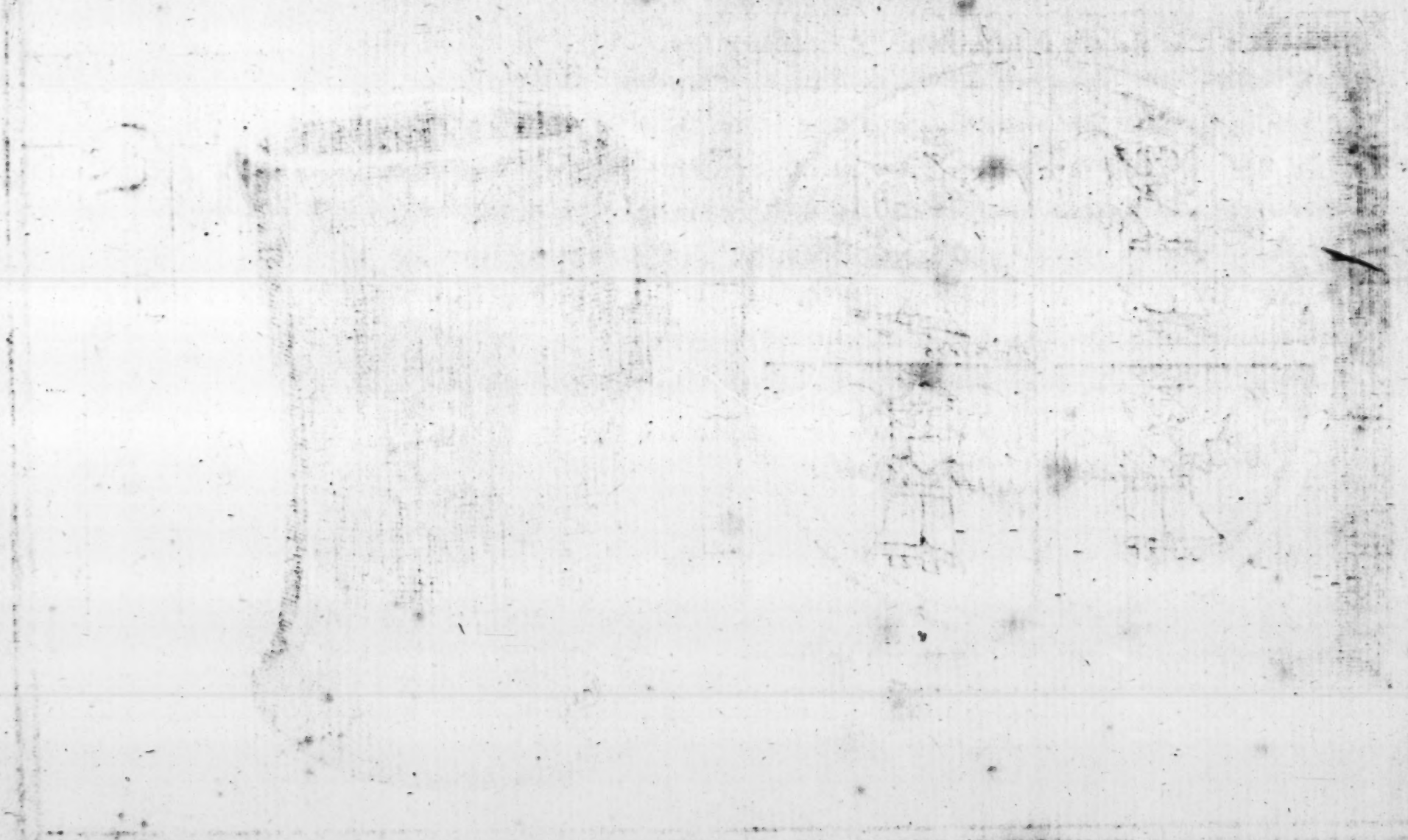
Fig. 6. p. 24.



Fig. 4.

MS. 1076







subsisted between the stations at the *Gaer* and *Cwm*, which were so near to each other, and *Maridunum*, which was the capital of the province to which they belonged; and in that case it is equally probable, that this road crossed Treastle hill, which not only lies directly in the way, but also affords the most convenient communication between the vales of Brecknock and Caermarthenshire, in the latter of which *Maridunum* was situated. As a further proof of this opinion I shall here observe to the Society, that since the communication of my former account, a stone with a Roman inscription engraved upon it has been dug up on the top of Treastle hill. Mr. Charles Hay of Brecknock first informed me of this discovery, by letter dated February 20, 1770; and has since transmitted to me a representation of the stone [g], with a copy of the inscription engraved upon it, which I do myself the honour to present to the Society. Mr. Hay at the same time informed me, that this stone was found about two feet under ground, near a spot called the *Heath Cock*, in making the turnpike road over the hill in 1769, and has since been removed to *Llandilo* in Caermarthenshire. In all probability it formerly stood by the side of the Roman road leading over this hill, as the stone at the *Gaer* likewise did by the side of the road leading to that station, as I have before observed. I at the same time made mention of another stone, with the Roman characters *MARC* engraved upon it [h], which was also found by the side of the Roman road between *Capel Coelbryn* and *Mynidd Kirr*, or the long mountain; which road I suppose led from *Nidum*, or Neath, into Brecknockshire. Another similar remnant, apparently of Roman antiquity, though of the later times, has likewise been dis-

[g] Plate I. Fig. 1.

[h] Plate I. Fig. 2.

covered,



covered, not long since, in the same neighbourhood, about a mile from *Ystradvelty*, in the cross road leading from Brecknock over the mountains to Neath. It is a stone called *Maen Mad-dock* [i], which, from the inscription engraved upon it, however rude, appears to have been sepulchral, like *Maen y Morinnion*, or the maiden stone, at the *Gaer* near Brecknock; and though the inscription is reversed, yet the characters *IC IACIT* are easily made out. This stone also in all probability formerly stood by the side of the Roman road which I suppose to have traversed this country. I am also indebted to Mr. Hay for this communication, as well as for the drawing of the stone, and copy of the inscription. This gentleman at the same time informed me, that, in the neighbourhood of *Ystradvelty*, a gold coin of *Vespasian maximi moduli* had lately been found. It is at present in the possession of a person near Neath. But to return to the Treastle stone. Every one knows that it was the custom of the Romans to bury their dead along the road side, as well as without the walls of their cities; nor is it otherwise accountable how the stone in question should be found in so inconvenient a spot as Treastle hill, which is not only very high, but also wide of the habitable country. Mr. Hay observes, that this stone, which is a coarse sort of lime-stone, is flat on the side where the most imperfect part of the inscription is engraved, and round on the other, tapering of course towards the edges, and the thickest part scarcely measures three inches. As to the inscription, I leave it to speak for itself, part of it being sufficiently intelligible, though the characters are not very good. I also supposed in my former account of Brecknockshire, that the Roman causeway leading from *Mynid Kerr* or the long mountain to *Capel Coelbryn*, joined the other, which I imagine

[i] Plate I. Fig. 3.



to have led from the *Gair* to *Rhydy Bryn* bridge; by which means a communication was opened from *Nidum*, or *Neath*, and the coast of *Glamorganshire*, to the different stations in *Brecknockshire*, *Radnorshire*, and the neighbouring parts of *South Wales*. But these are only conjectures, which, however justifiable, are rather meant to excite the curiosity and inquiries of others, than offered as remarks of weight.

Though the Roman roads commonly lie in parallel, and perpendicular, directions, yet they sometimes deviated considerably, where circumstances required it. Thus the *Neath* road, which, as I have before observed [i], continues in a straight line, from the little valley near *Capel Coelbryn*, to the long mountain, takes a sweep round the side of this mountain, which interrupts its direct course. In the same manner the *Erning Street*, just without *Mr. Noel's* paddock at *Walcote* in *Northamptonshire*, in a large common field, makes a considerable round, merely to comply with a natural ridge of the ground [k]. I also observed, that the *Neath* road is partly over boggy ground; but it appears to have been raised there, and the earth, or peat, first dug up, or removed, to make way for better materials, according to the method followed by the Romans in making their roads in such ground [l]. The materials used in the *Neath* road are chiefly large pebbles collected from the neighbouring hills, or torrents. This elevation, or *dorsum elatum*, as Antiquaries call it, is justly esteemed to be the best evidence of a Roman road, and is very probably a reason why the name of *bigb street* is so often given to the old Roman causeways in this island, as

[i] Account of Brecknockshire. Archaeologia, vol. I. p. 298.

[k] Archaeologia, vol. I. Art. xiv. pag. 62.

[l] Bergier, lib. cit. cap. xvi. and Statii Sylv. de via Domitiana.



Horsley [m] has already observed. But it is also remarkable, in most countries, that the Romans commonly preferred the higher ground, where they conveniently could, *ceteris paribus*. No country, perhaps, affords a more noble instance of the efforts of the Romans, in making these raised caseways, than our Fens, where we still see considerable traces of one, whose agger is three feet thick, and sixty broad. This was made, at the expence of vast labour, to open a communication between the countries to the South and North of these fens, and is particularly mentioned by the accurate and laborious Dugdale in his account of draining the fens. Another similar work, but of greater import, was also customary with the Romans in such kind of low, swampy, ground; I mean the artificial foundations, mostly of brickwork, which they made to build upon in such situations, and which, if I mistake not, are, by Vitruvius, styled *statumina*. Marshes of great extent were covered by them, and perhaps cities built upon them. Very considerable remains of this sort of work are still seen in a marshy bottom between Metz and Strasburg, particularly at *Marsal*, and *Moyenvick*, about ten leagues southeast of Metz in Lorraine. Mr. d'Arceze de la Sauvagere, a French officer, and engineer, has given a curious account of these remains, in a small, and scarce, pamphlet, printed at Paris in 1740 in 8vo: [n] under the following title, *Recherches sur la nature et l'étendue d'un ancien ouvrage des Romains appelé communément Briquetage de Marsal, &c.* It will not be foreign to the present purpose briefly to mention the leading particulars of this account, more especially as I believe it to be the only authentic and circumstantial one upon this curious subject.

THE *Briquetage de Marsal* is a large and solid mass of brickwork, that extends horizontally under the town of Marsal, and

[m] Brit. Roman. Book iii. cap. 2.

[n] Reprinted in his *Récueil d'Antiquités dans les Gaules*, Par. 1770. 4to.



without the south west side of it, at various depths below the surface of the ground. In one place only, without the town, where the earth has been removed to make a dike, it is openly visible; but in general, it lies below the surface, from seven and eight to ten, and eleven feet, and immediately under the town even at the depth of twenty-two feet. This difference is owing to the extraordinary elevation of the ground, which is known to be very considerable in all towns, from the accumulated ruins in them, and other accidental causes. At the same depth of twenty-two feet, and within the town, in digging the foundations of a convent, an earthen vase was found, with the Roman characters *CASSIVS. F.* stamp'd upon it, together with a regular range of six oval furnaces, erected immediately upon the brick work, and which, from the verdigrease, and pieces of copper, found about them, appear to have served for the melting of that ore. From these circumstances, and from other considerable remains of Roman Antiquities, which have been found in that neighbourhood, particularly at *Tarquinipole*, a small village near *Marsal*, it seems reasonable enough to suppose, that the *Briquetage de Marsal* is also a Roman work. It appears to be a composition of bricks, or rather burnt earths, of various shapes and size, confusedly heaped together, without any mortar or other cement originally employed to unite them. But this rubbish having been thrown at first upon a bed of glutinous mud, or *vase gluante*, as the author calls it, and since exposed for ages to the successive depositions of a similar adventitious matter, super-added to its surface by inundations, and other natural, though secondary, causes; the interstices between have been gradually filled up with the finer parts of this matter, to which, petrifying, has cemented the whole into one solid mass. The original materials used for this work hardly deserve the



name of bricks, being not formed in moulds, but, to all appearance, worked by hand, in all kinds of shapes, but mostly irregular, and sometimes even plastered to pieces of wood. The more regular forms are either conical, cylindrical, or parallelepiped. Nor is it uncommon to see on the surface of them regular prints, or impressions, of the hand, or fingers, which manifestly appear to have been made on purpose, though, I suppose, out of wantonness. From the discoveries hitherto made, the *Briquetage de Marfal* appears to occupy a surface of about 192,000 French *toises*. Another considerable, and equally solid, mass, of the same sort of work, extends, also horizontally, under, and near, *Magerat*, a small town about half a league South West of *Marfal*, in the same valley. This measures about 1,10,000 *toises*. A remnant of a third mass, though of little consideration, has also been discovered at *Bartazac*, a small village near *Kie*, about two leagues from *Marfal*, in the same direction, South West, and situated in the same valley. It is imagined, that the whole of these works was formerly of much greater extent; but it is difficult to determine whether any, or all, of the separate masses just described, ever united, so as to form one entire body. It has also been imagined, that the *Briquetage de Marfal* might have served originally for a causeway, or aqueduct. But the singularity of its structure and form, and particularly its extraordinary width, sufficiently contradict those opinions. Though no plausible conjectures have been offered concerning the intent of this work, yet, in all probability, it was designed for the purpose of some superstructure or other, at least in part; and the furnaces before mentioned are in fact a proof of it. I doubt not but the remains of other buildings would be found, upon a more suitable research, the furnaces having been discovered by mere accident; and Mr. de la Sauvagère having, T



as I suppose, only bored, or sounded, in the common way, to ascertain the extent and direction of the *Briquetage*. However, such a mass of brick-work, suspended, as it were, between two morasses, is alone a matter of no small curiosity. But it is time to leave this digression and return to my subject.

HORSLEY observes [o], that the raised Roman ways are often sunk, and instances one near Blackstone edge in Yorkshire, and another between Tine and Read in Northumberland, which he says is sunk many feet. Bishop Burnet [p] also concludes, that the famous *via Appia*, between Rome and Naples, had sunk, from observing it to be perfectly level with the ground on each side, and supposing that it must originally have been made higher. I recollect to have been equally surprized at this equality of the *via Appia* with the ground on each side of it; which I, however, attribute to a different cause from that assigned by the learned Bishop. It is very evident, that partial depressions or subsidences of the ground under weights do frequently happen in particular spots; but that the *via Appia*, or any other causeway, should subside uniformly in a long tract, and on different qualities of soil, is very improbable. Is it not more agreeable to reason and observation, to attribute the apparent subsidence of these causeways to the gradual elevation of the ground on each side of them? Since it is very well known that, in all low and level situations particularly, there is a continual increase of adventitious matter superadded to the surface, from various secondary causes, which it is not necessary to consider at present. This opinion, in which, however, Naturalists, as well as Antiquaries, do not always agree, seems to be sufficiently proved by the actual state of the *Briquetage de Marsal*,

[o] Brit. Rom. loc. cit.

[p] Travels; Lett. 4.

which



which I have just described. Nor are other proofs wanting, of the like nature, and equally demonstrative. None perhaps are more satisfactory than those which may be collected from the history of the different *strata* under the town of Modena in Italy, in Ramazzini's excellent treatise *De Fontium Mutinensium admiranda scaturigine*.

It is of no small advantage to Antiquaries, that the Romans so often fixed upon high, open, dry and barren spots, which being mostly either neglected, or left for pasture only, the remains of Antiquity upon them are not only more easily found, but are commonly in better preservation than among enclosures and in cultivated countries, where they are continually exposed to suffer from various causes. Thus the Neath causeway before mentioned remains almost intire, as far as the open, barren, heath continues, between the *Long mountain*, and the little valley near *Capel Coelbryn*, where it is immediately lost among the enclosures. Nor is it the plough only that wastes these venerable remains in cultivated countries; but as such are of course more inhabited, the remains in them are more liable to be destroyed, and their materials carried away, and employed for the purposes of modern roads and buildings. Besides, such countries, from their situation, and the richness of the soil, are commonly more exposed to damps, and consequently the buildings in them to a more speedy and natural decay.

From the observations already made it appears then, that the twelfth *iter* of Antoninus was not the only Roman road that passed through this part of South Wales and its neighbourhood; but that, on the contrary, there were several other roads of communication, the remains of which are still visible, and, in some parts, considerable: and had we not the manifest Roman stations of the *Gaer*, and *Cwm*, in this neighbourhood, the frequent







Fig. 2.

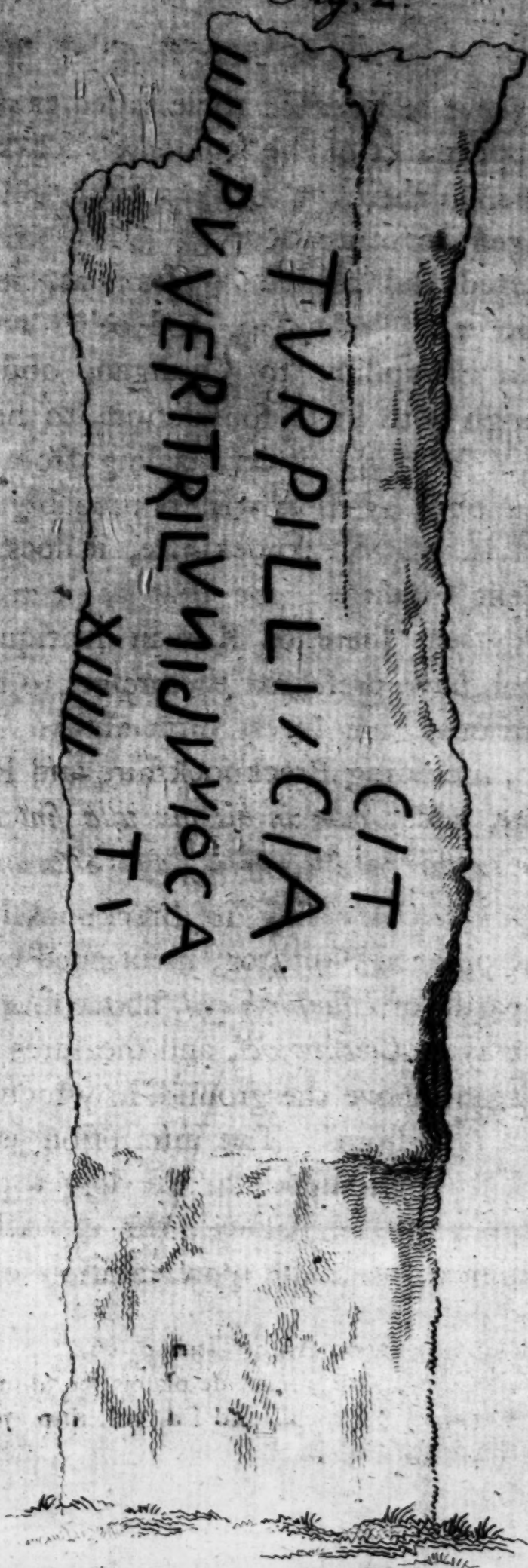
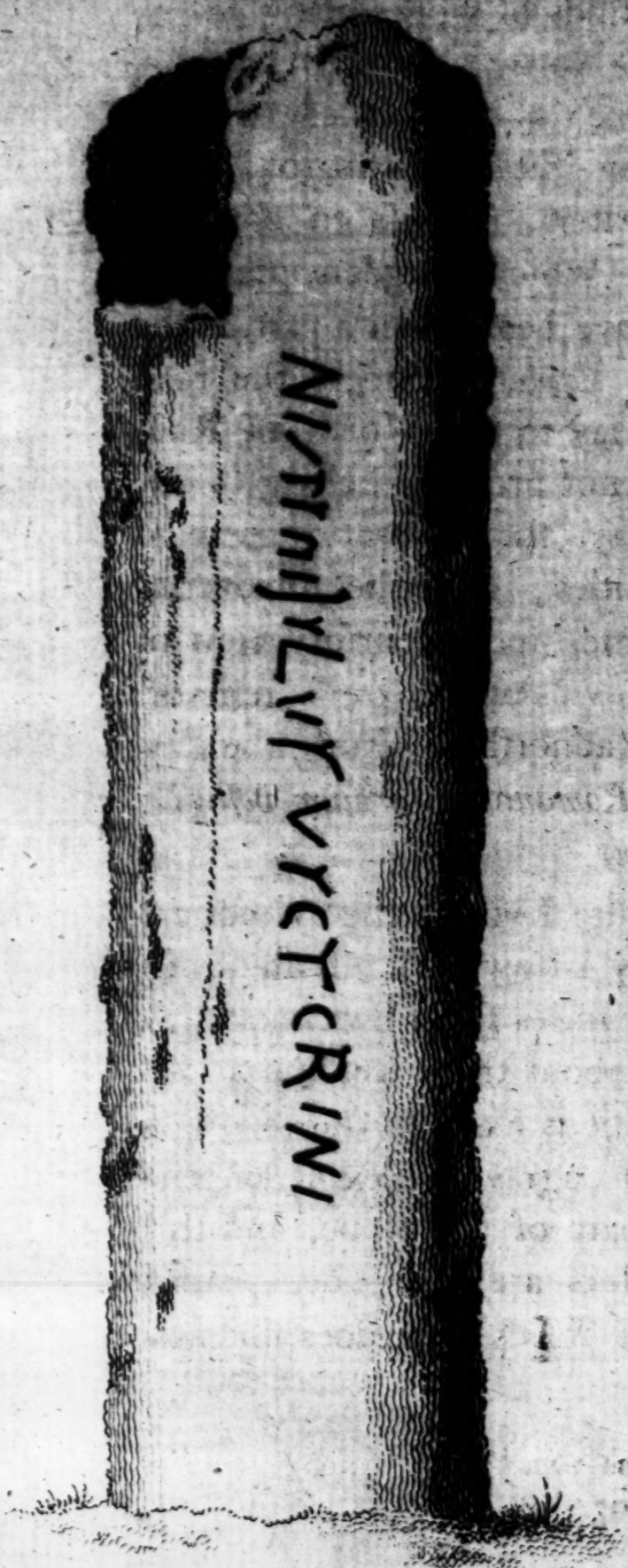


Fig. 1.





frequent vestiges of these raised causeways would alone be sufficient marks of the Romans, such kinds of works being so peculiar to them. Not do any of these vestiges seem to have belonged to other Roman roads, which are supposed to have entered and crossed Wales; as, for instance, the road, that Gale [9], Higden [r], and other writers, suppose to have led from Shropshire to Cardigan, and which Higden pretends, though with little foundation, to have been even a part of the Great Watling Street leading from Dover. But as the road mentioned by these writers probably lay to the North of Radnorshire and Brecknockshire, it does not properly belong to our present inquiries. Be that as it may, these counties seem to have their share of Roman Antiquities; and the discoveries which have presented themselves to me, upon a cursory view of them only, are surely sufficient to invalidate Baxter's remark, who, including Brecknockshire and Radnorshire among the *Demetae*, adds, *cum in his vix ulla sint Romanarum arcium vestigia, unde constat eas Pecurias fuisse Silurum.*

DURING my stay in Brecknockshire I visited the cylindrical stone pillar at Skethrog, mentioned by Lhwyd [s]. It stands in the parish of *Llanfanzrayd*, about four miles from Brecknock, in the way to *Crickhowel*, and measures about three feet and a half in height above the ground, in which it is fixed by the road side like a mile stone. The inscription is engraved upon it lengthwise, from the upper to the lower part of the stone, and still continues visible, though the characters are very rude. From the annexed accurate representation of it [t] there does not ap-

[9] Comment. on Anton. Itin. p. 56.

[r] Polichron. lib. i. cap. de plateis Regalibus, p. 196. Ed. Gale.

[s] Camden's *Britannia*, 2d Ed. vol. ii. p. 707.

[t] Plate II. Fig. 1.



pear to be so much difference in the form of the characters, as Lhwyd makes in his copy of this inscription; particularly between the word VICTORINI and the preceding letters, I shall not pretend to decypher the former part of this inscription, which is rather obscure; but must observe that the name *Victorinus* was well known in Britain towards the latter end of the Roman empire. Coins of the emperor of that name, with the reverses *Pax Aug.* and *Salus Aug.* are also commonly found in our island, with those of the other lower emperors.

Nor far from *Llanfaufrayd* is the famous Brecon Meer, or Lake, where Camden supposes the old city *Loventium* stood; since Ptolemy places it in this neighbourhood, and our great archaeologist had no proofs to fix it elsewhere. But this opinion does not appear to rest upon any other authority, than the general notion, which prevails among the country people, that a city formerly stood on the spot now covered by the Lake, the formation of which they refer, as I suppose, to the same earthquake, which, according to their account, swallowed up this city. But notwithstanding Camden's apparent assent to this notion, it seems to be a mere fable; and such are applied also, with as little foundation, to other lakes in Wales, and are common enough in the opinion of the vulgar in most countries. And though some deference be due to popular notions, as they have commonly a remote or indirect foundation in truth; yet I cannot account for this persuasion respecting lakes, unless it proceeds from their not being all *ab origine*, but, on the contrary, many of them of recent and successive formation, from various secondary causes, as earthquakes, the fall of mountains, &c.

THIS opinion indeed is agreeable enough to the appearances of nature in the superficial structure of our earth, and is avowedly true as to the origin of many lakes in different parts of the world,



world, even within our memory. Among many others, the well-known instance of *Plurs*, in the Grisons, is very remarkable, and particularly interests the point in question. For the fall of the same mountain, which in 1618 buried that town under its ruins, stopping at the same time the course of a small river, has formed a lake in its stead. The old town of *Chia-venna*, which was situated in the same valley, and near *Plurs*, was also destroyed by a similar accident. Bishop Burnet, in his travels, gives an account of both these catastrophes. In 1714 another lake was also formed, in the same manner, by the fall of Mount *Diableret*, on the confines of the *Valais* within the canton of Bern in Switzerland, as I have myself observed. Mons. de Lisle has recorded this event in his map of Switzerland, fixing a volcano at the spot where it happened, though I could find no signs of an eruption thereabouts. Mount *Diableret* itself consists of a common blue lime-stone, with white veins of spar, and its ruins, which, after having formed a small lake, cover a steep narrow valley to the distance of half a league, do not appear to have suffered in the least from fire. This accident may therefore more probably be attributed to a subterraneous rarefied vapour, and explosion, *absque flammis*, like that of *Plurs*, to all appearance, and many other events of the like nature in these mountainous countries. The part of Switzerland which I have just mentioned is particularly subject to them. Spon, in the third book of his history of Geneva, mentions another very remarkable fall of a mountain, which happened in 1584 near *Aigle* in the same neighbourhood, and by which the two villages of *Corbery* and *Yvorgne* were intirely destroyed, with most of their inhabitants. But I could find no signs of fire in those parts; and the same has been assured me by Mr. Haller of Bern, who was formerly governor of the pro-



vince of Aigle, and resided there many years. A remarkable natural production is, however, peculiar to the mountains of that country, and accounts in great measure for such accidents, as well as for the frequent earthquakes which are known to happen there. Sulphur is frequently found, in its virgin state, incorporated with the lime-stone and spar, of which these mountains are mostly formed. I mention this from my own knowledge, having collected specimens on the spot. I shall further beg leave to observe here, that I have never seen, nor heard of, any common *lava*, pumice stones, or other igneous concretions, in other parts of Switzerland, where such accidents have happened, as they frequently have done; nor elsewhere in that country; nor in the Tyrol; and I am persuaded, from my observations in those parts, that the same holds good with respect to the Grisons, and the remaining part of the chain of the higher Alps in general; which is somewhat extraordinary, considering, that, in other parts of the globe, it is principally in the highest mountains, where volcanos mostly abound. The Andes afford as remarkable instances in this particular, differing widely from our Alps; unless granite, porphyry, and other *similar vitrifiable compound stones, saxe composita Cronstedt, saxe aggregata Wallerii et Linnaei*, which constitute the higher mountains of this chain, are to be considered as igneous concretions, as I am firmly of opinion they ought to be, having very strong proofs in favour of it, was this the proper occasion to offer them.

HAVING mentioned the stone pillar and inscription at *Stretrog*, I shall also take notice of another much of the same kind which I found about ten miles beyond *Edanfsufrayd*, near the same road, and a mile to the north-east of *Crickbowl*, in a field belonging to Mr. John Powel of *Llangenny*. It is a large



flat stone [1] about six feet long, and two feet broad, with an inscription engraved upon it lengthwise in characters much resembling those upon the stone at *Stathrog*. The names *Turpilus* and *Turpiliana*, to the former of which this inscription seems rather to refer, were also well known towards the decline of the Roman power in this island, as we learn from *Facius* [2], and other writers. No inscription, however rude in its form, should, I presume, be neglected in inquiries of this nature. I was therefore desirous to preserve this also from oblivion, but shall not attempt to decypher it, though I can answer for the exactness of the copy. This inscription appears however imperfect; and the stone, upon which it is engraved, seems to have been removed from some other spot, as it now lies neglected by the side of a ploughed field. Remains of this kind are indeed but too much neglected in all countries, nor are we more attentive than our neighbours in the preservation of them; as is evident from the unsuccessful researches of Horsley after many of those mentioned by Camden. There are besides upon the summit of a very high mountain, a little to the eastward of *Llangenny*, plain vestiges of a circular trench, cut in a solid rock of moorstone, and which I should be inclined to think a Roman work; especially as the stone, upon which the before-mentioned inscription is engraved, and which I take to be Roman, though of the latter times, seems to have been hewn from this rock, appearing to be of the same kind.

From these gleanings of Roman antiquities collected in and near Brecknockshire in this imperfect manner, I think there is little reason to doubt, but that, upon further and more regular researches, other more important discoveries of the same nature might still be made. Nor can I help flattering myself with

[1] Plate II. Fig. 2.

[2] In vita Agricola.



the hopes of them, from the industry, and laudable spirit of inquiry, that particularly distinguish the gentlemen of that county. I shall conclude the present, as I did my former paper on the same subject, by an account of some other more modern remains of antiquity, but of a different kind, which have also occurred to my notice.

In one of my excursions during my stay in Brecknockshire, I observed on the porch of a very old house situated at lower Trevecca, not far from Talgarib, in this county, a square stone carved in bas relief, that much engaged my attention; chiefly on account of the singularity of the date marked upon it. Mr. Hay of Brecknock, to whose attention and ingenuity we are much obliged, and whose curiosity I am pleased to have thus excited, favoured me afterwards with a drawing of this stone; which I have also the honour to present to the Society [w]. From the letter, that accompanied it, I collect, in part, the following particulars concerning the original. The house, to which it belongs, is considered as one of the oldest in the county, and is thought to have formerly served for some religious purpose, as it actually does for a charitable one, being devoted and endowed as a college for the education of twelve youths. In the inside of it are also seen some curious and very ancient carvings in wood, which, as tradition is silent about them, the good people of the neighbourhood readily attribute to the Romans. Such notions concerning the obscure remains of antiquity are commonly prevalent in all countries, where the Romans have once had a footing; and the present instance, among many others, proves at least, that their memory is not yet quite lost in Brecknockshire; if indeed they do not rather by this name mean the Roman Catholics. The

[w] Plate I. Fig. 4.



carved stone in question, exclusive of the jointed frame or border round it, is about three feet square, and is sunk near two inches into the front wall of the porch of the house. The bas relief upon it is worked very smooth, and scarcely raised above a quarter of an inch from the surface of the stone, and the whole appears so fresh, and in such excellent preservation, that I hardly think it can have been always exposed to the air, but has been removed from within doors, and probably out of the same house, at the front of which it is now fixed. This bas relief consists of a circle, which is divided by two cross-bars into four equal parts, in each of which is represented, in a very Gothic style of sculpture, a winged figure, resembling those commonly given to angels, but very different from them in respect to its attributes. Each of these figures, which I suppose, however, were meant for angels, seems to be clothed in a sort of friar's habit girded round the middle; and having a bib or apron, or something like it above the girdle. Each has a cross florée upon its head, besides flowing locks. Each figure also bears a plain escutcheon on its breast, and seems to support it by the girdle of the mantle beneath. The particular explanation of similar remains of antiquity is ever attended with more or less difficulty, and is often of very little import; the customs of every country, even in the more enlightened ages, carrying with them constantly some marks of prejudice, or ignorance, that are either unaccountable in themselves, or little deserving of our attention. For whatever purpose this stone may have been originally intended, it is manifest, that the four figures carved upon it were meant to be perfectly similar to each other in attitude as well as in attributes and attire. At the intersection of the two cross-bars near the middle is marked in rude and unequal, but very legible, characters, the following inscription



inscription and date, *Je/le 1176*. The early period of this inscription excited my curiosity much more than the bas relief itself however curious. It is, I presume, well known to the learned members of this Society that most of these supposed early dates in Arabick figures prior to the thirteenth century, several accounts of which are to be found in the Philosophical Transactions [x], have since been proved spurious by that very learned and critical Antiquary Professor Ward of Gresham college. The arguments advanced by him in his examination of the Helmdon, Colchester, and Widgell hall dates, as well as of the two Arabian dates from Ireland, and of that from Brimpton in Berkshire (which arguments it is unnecessary here to repeat), seem indeed conclusive, and give us just reason to doubt the authenticity of all dates preceding the thirteenth century, whether on coins, inscriptions, or manuscripts. Nor am I inclined to except that from Brecknockshire in question, notwithstanding the plain form and intelligibility of the numerals. For there is the same objection against the figure 6 in this date, as professor Ward makes in respect to the same figure in that discovered at Widgell hall in Hertfordshire. Nor can the third figure in the date before us be admitted as a 7, according to the table of characters published by the learned professor upon the above occasion; since there is no figure in that table of a similar form, excepting the second in Roger Bacon's calendar, according to which this date would stand for 1126, and be seven years older than that of Helmdon in Northamptonshire. It is also further remarkable, that the two first figures of 1; in the Brecknockshire date, are of a different form from any that represent the same numeral in professor Ward's table. But they resemble the same numerals in the date 1011 from Rumsey.

[x] N<sup>o</sup> 439. 459. 475. 490.



church in Hampshire, described by the reverend Mr. Barlow in the Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup> 459, supposing those numerals, however, to be inverted. Most of the dates examined and confuted by the learned professor are of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and speaking of those of Helmdon, Colchester, and Wiggell hall in particular, he observes, that none of them were used in this kingdom till a hundred years after the reading given to the latest of them, which is that of Helmdon of 1133. Examining also the Worcester date, which is earlier than any of the former, being as is pretended 975, and objecting to the figure 7 in it for the reasons before mentioned, he very justly observes that, as the Arabian figures are easily falsified, too great caution cannot be used in admitting any instances of them more early than have been hitherto discovered, but upon very clear and sufficient evidence. As to the Brecknockshire date, the original figures of it are not only plainly legible, but very distinct, and the copy of them has been taken with the greatest exactness; nor can any other reading than that before offered be given to it, consistent with the original inscription. But since this date cannot be admitted according to professor Ward's weighty arguments, we must either suppose some involuntary or wilful mistake in the original. Nor does such a supposition seem improbable, if we consider the singularity in the forms of the two first figures, representing the numeral 1, and the wide difference between them and the two last, which represent the numeral 7 and 6. For the former figures are quite uncommon, as I have before observed, while the latter perfectly resemble the modern synonymous numerals, which they represent. I shall not pretend to make any further remarks on this date, nor upon the bas relief that accompanies it, supposing that



that both might appear as curious to this learned Society as to myself.

HAVING been rather long upon this article, for which we are certainly indebted to the Catholic times, I shall dwell the less on another, which appears to be of the same class. The drawing, which I have now the honour to present to the Society, represents a square figured stone [y], found standing upright at *Pen y Mynydd* in the neighbourhood of *Ystradgynlais* in Brecknockshire. The name of this spot sufficiently denotes the nature of its situation; *Pen* signifying *head* or *chief*, and *Mynydd*, *mountain*; and *Pen y Mynydd*, is the name of an elevation near *Ystradgynlais*.

This stone is marked with a cross cut in a small semicircular sort of channel or groove, each bar of the cross having besides on either side a parallel range of dots or points. What the remaining marks on this stone can mean I shall not pretend to determine. Mr. Hay at the same time communicated to me another drawing of a celt of metal, seemingly brass, which was found under a cromlech near *Keven Hirr Vynidd*, on the borders of Brecknockshire [z].

At the end of my former paper on Brecknockshire [a] I gave the description of a flat monumental stone found in *Llandevaillog* church-yard, a few miles from Brecknock in the road to Buahlt, on which is carved, in a very Gothic style of sculpture, a figure resembling, by its attributes, that of some prince or military chief. But I did not at that time attempt to explain the short, and seemingly imperfect, inscription engraved upon this stone underneath the figure. It has however since occurred to me, that this inscription might very possibly refer to *Brockwel*,

[y] Plate I. Fig. 5.

[z] Plate I. Fig. 6.

[a] See vol. I. p. 204.

or,



or *Brockmael*, who was a considerable prince in Powisland, and is supposed to have overthrown Ethelred king of Northumberland on the banks of the river Dee in 617 [a]. He is also mentioned by Bede as a famous British general, and was surnamed *Escitbrauc*, or *Yskithroc*; which name has a singular affinity with *Skethrog*, or *Skithrog*, and perhaps *Yskithrog*, near *Llanfaufrayd* in Brecknockshire, where the cylindrical stone pillar stands, which I before mentioned. *Brockmael* is styled in Latin *Brecivallus*, *Brockmaelus*, and *Brogmalus* [b]. I must here take notice of a double mistake of Doctor Stukeley's, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, who not only follows Camden in fixing *Bullaecum* at *Buablt*, without any other foundation, as I have before observed, but also places it in Radnorshire, instead of Brecknockshire to which it properly belongs.

I MUST not omit to observe, that there are still very considerable remains of the old walls and castle of Brecknock. The castle, if I mistake not, partly occupies a rising ground on the West side of the town, and was formerly, in all probability, of considerable strength; since Wynne, in his history of Wales, informs us, that in 1233 Prince Llewelyn was forced to raise the siege of it, after a long and obstinate trial.

I HAVE nothing more to communicate to this learned Society upon the present occasion. But I beg leave to observe, that, besides the pleasure ever accruing from researches of this kind, to a speculative mind disposed to cultivate them, it is no small satisfaction to me, to find, that the tour of Wales has enabled me to contribute, in some measure, towards the laudable pursuits of a Society, of which I have the honour to be a member. It would however be a much greater satisfaction to me,

[a] Wynne's Hist. of Wales, p. 23.

[b] Wynne's Hist. and Baxter in voc. *Brogmalus*.



if other gentlemen, of better abilities than myself, would follow the same plan; not only for the greater advantage of this respectable Society, but for the lights, which collected discoveries of this kind never fail to throw upon the general history of any country they particularly respect. It was a saying of *Naudæus's*, that he revered ecclesiastical history, doubted of the civil, and believed the natural. "But if there is any faith in civil history, it is surely in that part of it which is grounded on the real monuments of antiquity, which speak for themselves, *dam tacent, clamant*, and are neither offered to us through the medium of prejudice or party. A faithful register of such treasures is the most valuable literary acquisition that any country can make; we cannot therefore be too zealous or scrupulous in the research and preservation of them.



**H. On the Term Lavant. By the Honourable Daines Barrington. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Milles, President of the Society of Antiquaries, London.**

**Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 10, 1773.**

**DEAR SIR,** **June 8, 1773.**

**C**AMDEN takes notice that the city of Chichester "is washed on every side but the North by the little river "*Lavant* [*a*]," to which Bishop Gibson adds "the course of which stream is very unaccountable, being sometimes quite dry, but at other times (and that often in the midst of summer) so full as to run with some violence."

Dr. Stukeley (in his *Itinerarium Curiosum* [*b*]) observes, that there are three towns upon this same river, which derive their name from it, viz. East, West, and Middle Lavant, and then supposes, that the true original name was Antona; but whence he forms such conjecture I must own I cannot very readily comprehend.

THE term *Lavant*, however, is applied in Suffex to all brooks which are dry at some seasons, and consequently the Chichester river is with great propriety so called, though the water fails in winter, rather than in summer, which is also the case of a brook at Lambourn on the Berkshire Downs, and still more singularly so at Henley in Oxfordshire, where a

[*a*] *Britannia*, vol. I. col. 198.

[*b*] *Iter* vii. p. 194.



plentiful rill commonly runs by the side of the great road to Oxford only every third year.

From this same circumstance the sands between Conway in Carnarvonshire, and Beaumaris in Anglesey, are called the Lavant sands, because they are dry when the tide ebbs, as are also the sands which are passed at low water between Cartmel and Lancaster [c].

THE term Lavant therefore most certainly signifies a river, or sea-sands which are sometimes dry; and, after having looked into many dictionaries as well as glossaries, I find that the word *Llavan* approaches nearest to it, which Bullet in his Celtic Dictionary renders *ster*, or *to deprive*: it is consequently applied with great propriety to a brook which at certain seasons hath no water in it. I am,

Dear Sir,

Most sincerely yours,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

[c] The part of these sands, into which the rivers from Furness Fells empty themselves, is in Saxton's maps termed *Leven* sands.



29  
III. *An Enquiry in the Nature and Cause of King John's Death; wherein is shewn that it was not effected by Poison. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Milles, President of the Society of Antiquaries, London, from the Rev. Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 24, 1773.

S I R,

**A**S the discussion of historical facts, especially such as relate to the affairs of our island, falls in with the design of your institution, I beg leave to present you with an enquiry into the nature of the death of that unfortunate prince king John, it having been attributed by some of our later chronicles to the effects of poison. After the declaration of Mons. Rapin, "that the story of the poison is very improbable, since it is not mentioned by any of the contemporary historians;" to which his learned annotator, who, I presume, was the late Mr. Philip Morant, has added, "that the poison is not mentioned by any historian that lived within sixty years of the time," or before A. D. 1276; one would imagine there could be no occasion for re-considering this point: but the late Mr. John Lewis of Margate, partly in vindication of his favourite William Caxton, and partly from the forwardness of his zeal against Popery,



Popery, has endeavoured to puzzle the cause, and to invalidate the assertions of the judicious Frenchman, and his learned English annotator; so that it is become absolutely necessary to review this article of our history, and to bring it to a new hearing.

You will please to suppose the king to be at *Linn* in Norfolk, 11 Oct. 1216-17, and to have it in his intention to remove thence to Lincoln, or Lindsey; after which, the narrative of the attack and progress of his last illness is briefly this. In his road from Linn, it was necessary for the king to cross the *washes*, as they are called, which part the two counties of Norfolk and Lincoln [a], and there he very narrowly escaped drowning with his whole army; for before he was quite got over, the tide coming up the river Wellstream, which overflows the washes at high water, put him in great danger, and, though he escaped himself, he could not save his baggage, which was all swallowed up and lost. He arrived that night at Swineshead abbey [b], where he lodged, and began to be ill, or, as is pretended, was poisoned. However, he set out thence next morning [c] on horse-back for Sleaford [d], but was forced to betake himself to a litter. At Sleaford he was severely handled by a dysentery, and next day was carried to

[a] These washes are between a place called the *Cross-Keys* in Norfolk, and *Fosdike* in Holland, in the county of Lincoln. Annot. on Rapin, and Brady, p. 516. As for the Wellstream, see Dr. Brady, p. 516.

[b] R. Higden makes him *dine* there. This was 14 Oct. Brady, p. 516.

[c] According to Caxton, an English Chronicle cited by Mr. Lewis, John Fox, and my MS. Chronicle, he stayed two days at Swineshead. But see Brady, p. 515; and Appendix, p. 163.

[d] Sleaford castle, and Newark castle mentioned afterwards, were both of them now in the king's hand.



Newark castle, where he died, as all our best authors agree [e], a few days after: his bowels were buried at Croxton [f], in the county of Leicester, and his body at Worcester [g].

Parsons the Jesuit, and other Papists, are very loth to admit, that the king was poisoned at Swineshead, because it is a reproach, they think, upon monachism, and consequently reflects a dishonour upon their religion: and they talk of the malice and fargery of the Protestants on the occasion [h]. But there is no reason why they should be so scrupulous upon that account, so long as the remembrance of *James Clemen* exists in the world, and even flays them in the face. Other Papists have accordingly been very free in crediting and acknowledging the administration of the poison at the abbey [i], and have often represented it in their pictures and illuminations [j]. As to the Protestants, the sects among them, from an extreme aversion to the more outrageous than rational, are inclined to give perfect and entire credit to the poison [k]; whilst the more moderate and dispassionate persons rather think it improbable [l]: whence it appears, that the truth and reality of the case cannot possibly be competently judged of and determined.

[e] P. Langtoft says he died at *Marke*, but read *Nauiche*, i. e. *Nauérche*, or Newark.

[f] The abbot of Cuxton (perhaps Ralph de Lincoln, Willis Mit. Abb. II. p. 109.) was his physician at Newark. *Ms. Rawl. p. 382.*

[g] Dr. Brady, p. 515. and Appendix, p. 164.

[h] Dr. John Barcham's life of king John, in Speed's Hist. p. 387.

[i] William Caxton, John Major, and George Lilly, all papists, make no scruple in acknowledging the poison.

[j] Barcham, l. c.

[k] John Fox, Sir Francis Hastings, Dr. Barcham, Sir Richard Baker, John Lewis, &c.

[l] Monf. Rapin and Annotator.



by the personal opinions of men at this time of day; but that, laying aside all prejudice and partiality, the matter of fact and the evidence it rests upon ought to be minutely and coolly considered by those who are desirous of arriving at a true notion of it. And this is what I propose to do in the following memoir.

KING John died at Newark 18 OCT. 1216 [n], and the next year Matthew Paris was old enough to be professed in the monastery of St. Alban's [q]. He may therefore be esteemed a contemporary historian, and the account he gives of the cause of the king's illness at Swinhead is this: "*Ubi, ut putabatur, de rebus a fluctibus devoratis tantam mentis incurrit tristitiam, quod acutis correptus febribus, coepit graviter infirmari*;" in so much that grief and anxiety were then thought to be the source of the king's malady, and to have thrown him into a fever. The fever, however, was afterwards increased by the patient's own imprudence; for the author goes on, "*Ad hoc accedens studii molestiam perniciose ejus ingluviem, non modo illa de fructu persequorum, et novi clerici [p] potationis causa replatur, febrilem in se calorem acutis fortiter et seculum*." But whether Matthew may be deemed a contemporary or not, Roger Wendover, who died A. D. 1236, and whom Matthew transcribes in the former part of his work [q], certainly was. And the narrative, no matter whether Roger's or Matthew's, is literally transcribed by Thomas Rudburne without the least impeachment or contradiction [r].

[n] So most authors. See Dr. Brady, p. 517.

[q] Tanneri Biblioth. p. 572.

[p] Cyder; since M. Westminster calls it *pomarium*, for which word see Du Fresnoy. This part of the country was famous for its pippins called Kinton-pippins. Fuller's Worthies in Lincolnshire. Dr. Brady, p. 517. calls it *apple Bracket*; but see Fox, p. 333.

[q] Tanneri Bibl. p. 757. Wats, Prolegom. ad M. Paris.

[r] Leland, Collect. II. p. 421.



RICHARD de Morins, author of the annals of Dunstaple, was also living at the time. He was elected prior of his house, A. 1202 [1], and died A. 1242 [1]; and says, without intimating any thing of poison in the case, that the king died in the castle of Newark, *in castro Sancti Lucae*. And so the annals of Margan, which terminate soon after A. D. 1232, and the annals of Waverly, written probably about the same time, only say, the king died after three or four days illness at Newark. The annals of Mailros continued to the year 1270; and the annals of Burton, whose author is thought to have been contemporary with Matthew Paris, agree in the same.

NICOLAS Trivet, born about A. 1260 [2], says expressly, without transcribing any body, "Interim Joannes Rex—  
" in ipso belli apparatu morbo correptus decubuit, et post paucos  
" dies defungitur apud Newark, &c."

THE same may be said of Matthew of Westminster, who flourished about A. D. 1307; for he, without copying either Roger Wendover or Matthew Paris, gives the same account of the king's disorder as they do, imputing it, without any insinuation of poison, to grief and uneasiness of mind, aggravated by intemperance and mismanagement.

I OBSERVE, secondly, that Mr. Morant had certainly good reason for saying, that the story of the king's being poisoned "is not mentioned by any historian that lived within sixty years  
" of the time," or before 1276. Mr. Lewis [3], however, was not satisfied with this assertion, but remarks, in answer to it, that "it is mentioned in a Latin chronicle written by John

[1] Hearne's praef. p. 21.

[1] Willis, Mitr. Abb. II. p. 2.

[2] Cave's Hist. Lit. Appendix, p. 9.

[3] Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 34.



" abbat of Peterburgh, which ends 1259 [y]." Thus doubts are raised, or rather we are given to understand, that king John was certainly poisoned. And indeed, if this affair of the Peterborough chronicle were true, it would be much to the purpose. Mr. Morant would not only be convicted of a mistake or a false assertion; but, Peterborough being a neighbouring abbey of consequence, the abbot thereof would be likely enough to know the truth of what had passed at Swineshead. But it appears to me that Mr. Lewis had never read this author, but had only consulted him in the year he quotes, there being full proof that this chronicle was not written till towards the end of the 14th century, long enough after the year 1259. It is true the title of this Peterborough chronicle bears the name of *John the abbat*; and they who look no further esteem the author of it to be John de Caletto or de Caux, the former part of the work ending A. 1259; and this abbot dying A. 1262. But Mr. Sparkes, in his preface (had Mr. Lewis but peeped into that) adjudicates the performance from John de Caletto, and declares that the book was either bought and given to the house by another abbot of the name of *John*, viz. John de Deepings, and so was called *the chronicle of abbat John*, or that it has been interpolated. For my part, when I recollect the case of another of our chronicles which passes under the name of John Brompton, abbat of Joreval (for which I shall refer you to Mr. Selden's prolegomena ad X Script. p. xxxv. & seq.), I find it so similar to Mr. Sparkes's first supposition, that I cannot but subscribe to that. But the evidence of this Peterborough chronicle, be the author of it who he will, really amounts to little or nothing. "Ubi," says he, "*secundum quosdam, potionatus*

[y] Rex—caedibus et incendiis vacans de Northfolk versus Lyndesey per abbatiam Swyneshevede venit; ubi, secundum quosdam, *potionatus* transiit Stamford. Chron. Petriburg. p. 96.



"[Rex Johannes] transiit Slafford," ending at last in vulgar rumour.

BUT of this general rumour you may hear more hereafter. In the mean time I shall go one step further than Mr. Morant has done, and shall venture to assert, upon as good grounds as can be had in a negative argument, that no author has ever mentioned the poison till above eighty years after the event. For now that we have discarded John abbot of Peterborough, Barth. de Cotton, a monk of Norwich, who flourished A. 1298, according to bishop Tanner, is the first person that notices the poison; and his words, as cited by Hearne ad Gul. Neubrig. III. p. 815. are these:

"Anno 1216 die S. Lucæ Evangelistæ Johannes Rex obiit, veneno extinctus apud Swineshead, a quodam hospitæ dictæ domus, et sepultus est apud Wigorniam."

He is positive, you observe; but betrays his ignorance at the same time, by saying the king died at Swineshead the 16th of October, at which time the king was not there, and actually died at another place. Other authors are more cautious.

THOMAS WIKES, whose history ends with the death of Edward I. A. 1307, says, "Rex Johannes—intoxicatus, ut dicebatur, continuo coepit, ex violentia veneni, contabescere, &c." and so the Polychronicon, "But the comynge fame telleth, &c." and Knighton, "Tradit tamen vulgata fama," and afterwards, "juraverat enim ibidem, ut asseritur." And the like doubtful and wary expressions we have in John of Tinmouth, Thomas Otterburn, Scala mundi, and Hist. de Gestis Reg. Joh. in the Cotton Library, now in the British Museum.

PETER Langtoft may range with Thomas Wikes, as he wrote the life of Edward I. who died A. 1307. He consequently was not born when king John died.



JOHN Timmouth did not flourish till 1336; and the author of the Eulogium, a MS. in the British Museum, died about A. 1366. So that neither of them were living within eighty years of the king's death.

I PRESUME, Sir, I need not trouble you with the recital of any more of these later authors, either William Caxton, or the English Chronicles, but may proceed with my observations. The poisoners, at first, either spoke doubtfully, or kept to generals. But, as it is the nature of rumour to increase and improve,

—— *viresque acquirit eundo*;

so in a short time, our falsificators began to invent a formal story, and to embellish it with particulars. Thus Walter Hemingford, or rather Hemingburgh, who died A. 1347, tells us, that the king, hearing the abbot of Swinelshead had a fair sister, a prioress in the neighbourhood, sent for her; that the abbot was uneasy about it, and the hospitaller of the monastery said to him, "Do but absolve me, father, and pray for me, and I will rid the earth of this monster;" that the abbot was scrupulous, because he was the king; that the hospitaller proceeded nevertheless, and, as he knew the king loved new pears, brought some that were all poisoned, except three that he had marked, and offered them to him. Upon which the precious stones (in the king's rings I suppose) began to sweat; and he said to his host, "What is this you have brought me?" "Poison?" "Not poison, said he, but excellent fruit." That the king, by way of precaution, bad *him* eat one, which he did, taking one he had marked; he bad him eat another, and he did so; then a third: after which the king eat one himself, and died the same night. The hospitaller, however, was not put to death for it, but escaped by means of those who were not the



the king's friends: and so the author concludes with saying, the king was soon after buried on St. Luke's day at Winchester [z]. Walter Hemingburgh, who lived at Gilsburn above an hundred miles off, was not a person likely to know much of the private transactions at Swineshead, though he is so particular on the subject. This, Sir, you will acknowledge is a pure legendary story, the sweating of the gems, the stopping at the third pear, &c. But, besides this, there are certain perplexing difficulties attendant on the story. Where was the nunnery? for I know of none near Swineshead, that could be sent to on so short a warning. How could the pears be so soon poisoned? It must be by arsenic, a drug, which, as Dr. Mead will tell you, does not operate by a flux, of which malady, as we shall see hereafter, the king died, but by lancing and lacerating the coats of the stomach and bowels. But, what is worst, the author betrays the grossest ignorance about the king's death, committing the most palpable mistakes. He says, the king died the same night at Swineshead, and that he was buried the 18th of October, and at Winchester; all which particulars are absolutely false [a]. This Hemingburgh has a great character given him by Leland, and not upon a hasty or cursory view, for in the *Collectanea* [b] he has given us an abstract of him, though very undeservedly; for he has ac-

[z] The story is transcribed by Knyghton, col. 2425.

[a] Mr. Lewis endeavours to save the author's credit, as to the place of interment, by saying (in behalf of Caxton, who makes the same mistake, putting Winchester for Worcester), "which difference, perhaps, might be occasioned by the old spelling the names of these two places, thus, *Wyncestre* and *Wyncestre*, the one being mistaken for the other;" but this will not serve the turn, it being *Wintoniae* in the author, and not *Wincestris*. It would be a better apology to say it is a misprint in Hemingburgh, since Henry Knyghton, who transcribes him, has it *Wigorniae* for *Wintoniae*.

[b] III. p. 314.

quitted!



quitted himself very ill in respect of King John's death, in a fabulous and legendary manner, and without any regard to the truth of facts. The king, he says again, left five sons, ascribing to him the sons which his widow afterwards had by her second husband Hugh Brun, earl of March. So of his three daughters, he makes one marry the Emperor Frederick, another, William earl Marshal, and a third, Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, as if it were not the same lady that married William and Simon, and thereby taking no notice of Joan who married Alexander, king of Scots.

You do not expect, I am sure, Sir, any uniformity in error; and therefore will not be surprised to find Mr. Caxton's narrative, which I propose to give you next, totally varying from that of Hemingburgh above. Caxton says, the king hearing it said, when he was at the abbey, how cheap corn then was, answered, *He would ere long make it so dear, that a penny loaf should be sold for a shilling* [c]. Hence Robert of Gloucester, speaking of King John, says,

*And dude the londe wo enon, and more bi bet.*

that, upon this, a monk [d] there present took such indignation, that he went and put the poison of a toad into a cup of wine [e], and came and drank to the king, which made him

[c] "An half-penny loaf, which he would make worth twelve half-pence." Hemingburgh. This comes to the same thing; but Higden and Otterburn make the king say, *a half-penny loaf should be worth twelve-pence*. One edition of Polychronicon has twenty-pence. Caxton, a MS. Chronicle in Lewis, and mine, have twenty shillings. The Eulogium has it, *a lb. of bread as a lb. of silver*. See Dr. Barcham in Speed.

[d] He was *conversus*, a lay-brother. Hemingburgh, Otterburne, Higden, and Knighton. His name according to some was Simon. See Barcham and Fox.

[e] So Fox: but Caxton, and the English MS. Chronicle, as also my MS. have *Alc*.

pledge



pledge him the more readily. After the king had made his draught, and found himself ill, he asked for the Monk: and when it was told him he was dead, *God have mercy upon me,* said the king; *I doubted as much* [f]: and so he died in two days.

We have not done yet with the multifariousness of error, since a third account, which we have in John Fox from the *Prædicatorum*, though it agrees as to the toad, and the manner of poisoning the king, yet specifies a different motive for doing it, viz. the discourse which the king had at table concerning Lewis the Dauphine, whom we are to suppose the Religious of this house were disposed to favour and support [g]. And this, indeed, seems to be the most probable motive, admitting the fact. Swineshead, or Swinesheved, for so we ought to read it, and not *Swinesbenede* [h], as in Hemmingburgh and Knyghton, was a small monastery of Cistercians, near Boston [i]; and though the quarrel between the king and the Cistercians had long since subsided [k], and though we do not find that John had ravaged the lands in the manner he had done those of the great houses of Crowland and Peterborough [l], yet it appears from the words of M. Westminster, "*In crastino vero, ne hostes sui insultarent, morbum dissimulans, manum suam vix af-*

[f] Annot. ad Rapin. See the story more at large in Lewis's Life of Caxton, p. 133. & seq. where the toad is said to have been pricked in various places to get out its venom.

[g] Fox, Acts and Mon. I. p. 333.

[h] John Fox writes it *Swinshead*, which is equally bad.

[i] Near Lincoln, Fox and Lewis. Knyghton has it, more justly, *near Boston*; one would wonder at John Fox, who, being a native of Boston, must know the place well.

[k] Hoveden, p. 812. And he had actually founded an house of this order. M. Par. p. 288.

[l] M. Par. p. 287. Annal. Dunst. p. 77. Chron. Petrib. p. 96.



"cendit, &c. [m]," that the Monks of Swineshead were no friends of his. Thus he came thither, *hostiand gratia*, as Hemingburgh and Knighton express it, for a night's lodging, in the hour of his distress, and not from choice, as to a sett of his own party and friends. The force he had with him [n] was sufficient to secure him entertainment in the *hostium* of the abbey, though the abbot and his Monks were never so inimical to him.

In what a strange manner do those assertors of his being poisoned vary! 1st, in assigning three different motives or inducements to the horrible attempt; 2dly, in the matter of the poison. Something was said about the infected pears above; and I here query, whether the juice of a toad squeezed into a cup of ale or wine would amount to a poison. These chroniclers indeed suppose it, but the Naturalists will not easily assent. Mr. Pennant [o] says, "It is well known, that quacks have eaten "Toads; and have besides squeezed their juices (which was the "very case here) into a glass, and drank them with impunity." The author of the Eulogium is the first that insinuates the use and application of the toad, expressly mentioning this ingredient, which is entirely omitted by Rad. de Coggeshale, an author living at the time of King John's death, though his testimony is omitted above; and his words, in the chapter *de morte Regis Johannis*, as they have not yet been published, I shall insert in the margin from the MS. in the College of Arms [p].

3dly,

[m] See also Hemingburgh, p. 560.

[n] M. Paris, p. 287.

[o] Brit. Zoology, III. p. 10. and Appendix, p. 321.

[p] Ibidem [at Swineshead] ut dicitur, ex nimia voracitate, qua semper infacibilis erat, venter ejus ingurgitatus usq; ad crapulam, ex ventris indigerie solutus est in dissinteriam. Postea vero, cum paululum scissasset [i. e. cessasset] fluxus, sibi-  
tomatus



3dly, They are also inconsistent as to the fate of the Monk; Higden, Otterburne, and Caxton testifying that he died, and Hemingburgh that he escaped and survived. What are we to believe in this case? Higden again says, the Monk shrove himself, and was *houfeled* [p], before he gave John the poison; which is scarce possible, as the king was at table, and the toad was to be found, and the drench prepared, before he rose from his meal. All this was too much to be done in that short interval of time; and therefore others more probably say, the Monk was only absolved by that abbot [q].

It has been suggested, that no man would destroy himself for the sake of revenge, as this Monk did [r]: but it is well known, that revenge is sweet, and has carried people great lengths; and that many again have voluntarily died for what they have thought the good of their country. I do not think therefore that this observation is sufficient to invalidate the story of the poison; but the dissonance, inconsistency, and endless contradictions of the writers on that side of the question one amongst another, shew strongly, that a stable and uniform ground of truth is wanting with them, and that Matthew Paris's relation, simple, and natural as it is, is more to be depended upon.

WHEREUPON I remark, farther, that the story, as told by M. Paris and his partizans, carries, along with the testimony

tomatus est apud villam in Lindeſeia, quae dicitur Latford. Huc ergo cum venissent nuntii Incheſtræ caſtri Dover, ut intimarent cauſam adventus ſui, morbus ex dolore concepto recrudit. Praeterea maximus dolor cum agebat, quod capellam ſuam . . . . amiſerat, &c. Egritudo autem ejus per dies paucos invaleſcens, apud caſtellum de Neuwerc inſeſtatus deceſſit, &c.<sup>2</sup> This particular, however, that he died without a will, is not true. See note [w] in p. 42.

[p] See also Otterburne and Knyghton.

[q] Lewis, p. 33. 134. Caxton, and my MS. chronicle; also Fox from the *Fruſtus Temporum*.

[r] Notes on Rapin.



of the writers, a great appearance of truth and probability. Vexation and uneasiness of mind will, doubtless, sometimes bring on a fever. And this, by improper management, eating of fruit, and drinking large draughts of new cyder, might very probably terminate in a flux or dysentery, especially at a time of the year so favourable to this disorder, and which very often proves fatal now, when the art of medicine is better understood than it was at that time: and M. Paris, Rad. de Coggeshale, the chronicle of Peterborough, the Hist. Croyland. Continuatio, Knyghton, Otterburne, and Rous, all using the term *Dysenteria* [s]; though the patrons of the toad, William Caxton, the MS. Chronicle in Lewis, and mine, pretend, that the monk's and the king's bellies swelled and burst, and their bowels fell out. In short, John's case was nearly similar to that of Cardinal Wolsey, who not only died of the same malady, induced by the same original cause, grief and vexation, but, what makes it parallel, was also reported, though falsely, to have been taken off by poison [t].

SETTING aside testimony on that side of the question, which is what we have endeavoured to do in part, one can discern nothing of poison in the nature of John's disorder. When the abbot of Croxton embowelled him [u], it is not said that any signs of poison appeared, or that the operator had an apprehension of any foul play; though Caxton and the English chronicles say his belly was swelled with the poison. Neither does the king say any thing more in his will, than that he was *gravi infirmitate praeventus* [w]. On the contrary, the causes of the

[s] Ubi supra modum *dysenteria* vexatus, Chron. Burg. Perhaps we should read *unde supra modum*, &c. Joh. Rossus, p. 198. Knyghton, col. 24, 25. Hist. Croyl. Contin. p. 474. Rad. de Coggeshale, as before cited.

[t] See Wolsey's case discussed in Gent Mag. 1775, p. 25. Carte, III. p. 118. Mr. Hearne is of opinion that Rosamond Clifford was not poisoned. Let. Itin. II. in Append. and ad Gul. Neubrig. p. 739, & seq.

[u] At Newark, M. Paris, p. 288. but Knyghton says at Croxton, col. 2425.

[w] Testamentum R. Joh. in Thomas's Survey of Worcester Cathedral, p. 19 of Append.



malady were adequate to the symptoms without the intervention of poison. The king had been greatly harassed and fatigued, and probably very wet. He was under the utmost perplexity, not knowing whom to trust, not where to be safe; and this is what the annals of Dunstable mean, by saying of this king, *obit in exilio* [x]. He sickened, accordingly, in the abbey, and inflamed his distemper by eating improper, and, in his present case, very hurtful, things; though it seems he was wont at other times to eat and drink of them freely without harm [y]. He ate and drank them most intemperately, indulging his appetite to the full, as having nobody there to controul him; his physician, the abbat of Croxton, not being with him at the time, and never seeing him till he came to Newark, when his malady was grown desperate and past cure [z]. It adds much strength to the above observations, that the author of the continuation of the History of Croyland, a great house in the vicinage of Swineshead, who flourished as late as the reign of king Edward IV. and had no reason to have any regard or esteem for the memory of king John, only says that he died, "*ingravescens super eum dissenteriae morbo*," at the castle of Newark. MATTHEW Paris's narrative, supported by the correspondent historians, receives, lastly, a material and most convincing confirmation from the conduct of the king's friends after his death. Upon John's decease, affairs took a most favourable turn; Lewis, the French Dauphine, was soon expelled the kingdom, and the whole power came into the hand of the king of England's party, insomuch that in 1217, the earl of Pembroke, tutor to the young king, and administrator of the king-

[x] And so M. Paris says of the king, *nihil terrae, imo nec seipsum possidens*, p. 288; and see M. Westminster, p. 276.

[y] M. Westminster, l. c.

[z] Idem, ibidem.



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dom, Gualo the Pope's legate, and Peter de Rupibus, the great bishop of Winchester, with others of the young king's powerful friends, were all triumphant at Newark, the very place where John died, and no great distance from Swineshead; and yet, though a most atrocious and traitorous act had been committed, as is pretended, against the person of their late sovereign, by the abbat and monks of Swineshead, not the least enquiry, that one can find, was ever made about it; nay, the name of the abbat is not certainly known [a]; whereas one might expect to have heard of a total dissolution of the house, the crasement of the buildings, the seizure of the estate, the degradation and expulsion of the abbat and monks. Not one of these things, however, happened, but the monastery continued to exist and flourish till the time of the general suppression. A strong presumption, you must allow, that a crime of so black a die had never been perpetrated at the place.

It may be alledged, indeed, that, according to Dr. Barcham, Henry III. the king's son, alluded, in a speech of his, to the violent death of his father. He was at Clarkenwell, where the prior saucily said to him, "that as soon as he ceased to do justice towards his prelates, he should cease to be a king;" to which the king hastily replied, "*O, quid sibi vult istud, vos Anglici, vultisne me, sicut quondam patrem meum, à regno precipitare, atque necare praecipitatum* [b]." If the word *po-*  
*tionare*, instead of *necare*, had been used, it would have been decisive; but at present the word is too lax for us to infer any thing of poison in the case. But by this the king only meant, that his father's troubles were the cause of his death, as in

[a] Perhaps it was Robert de Denton, for he was made abbat of Furnes from the abbey of Swineshead, A. 1217. Willis, Mitr. Abb. II. p. 106.

[b] M. Paris, p. 854.



truth they were. But supposing he hinted at any sinister doings at Swineshead, it was only spoken in a passion, A. 1252, between thirty and forty years after the event; and Matthew Paris calls it a *rash and uncircumspect answer*, as well he might, his own account of John's death being, that he died of a fever, and nothing else.

It may be suggested again, that John must have been poisoned, since authors tell us, that certain monks, some say three, others five [c], were actually employed at Swineshead, in after-ages, to pray and sing for the soul of the Monk that administered the poison. So then there is no truth in that pretty story of Hemingburgh, that the Monk ate the three marked harmless pears, and escaped with life, but the whole rests on the ale being envenomed by the toad. But the misfortune is, the appointment of the singing monks is not mentioned by any body older than the author of the *Eulogium*, who died about A. 1366 [d], one hundred and fifty years after the fact; and therefore, though he speaks of an *ordinance by the general chapter* [e], meaning, I suppose, of the whole order of Cistercians, yet one knows not how to give him credit for it. At most, it only proves, that the story prevailed in after-times at Swineshead, and was there believed: as probably it might, as well as in other places, and as many other ridiculous stories in those credulous ages were. Dr. Barcham, though he espouses and believes the poison, was aware of this; for he says with caution, those monkish writers avow, *at what time they wrote this*, five monks in that abbey did sing, &c. And thus the appointment of monks to pray for the assassin's soul at Swineshead, in after-ages, possibly may be true, and yet the

[c] My MS. Engl. Chron. that in Lewis, and Caxton, say five; Fox, three.

[d] Dr. Barcham in Speed, p. 587.

[e] See also John Fox.

fact,



fact, which was the ground of the appointment, may not be so. Parsons, the Jesuit, I observe, gives not one jot the more credit to the poison, on account of this chantry.

In short, it appears clear to me that king John died a natural death. But is it not strange, you will say, that so many authors should assert with confidence, and with so many circumstances, that he was poisoned? I answer, not in the least; on the contrary, that it is very natural it should so happen. John died at a critical time, of a short illness, contracted in an enemy's quarter; whence it would be very obvious for the vulgar to surmise that he was poisoned. Kings, and other great personages, seldom die suddenly, witness the case of Wolsey above-mentioned, but the like fancies and imaginations rise in people's minds. It was surmise at first, and then grew into an assertion, and this by degrees received circumstances and embellishments from the pens of certain idle monks that did not love the king's person. John was a bad man in various respects, and the monks have not spared him; they have loaded him with the reproaches he deserved [f]. And I think it not improbable, that when he was with his back-friends at Swineshead, he might use such threatening discourse at table as is related above; which being afterwards reported by the monks, or other writers, might at length furnish a specious pretence, in conjunction with surmise, for the fictitious story of the poison, and all the circumstances and particulars of it.

Whittington, 9 Dec.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[f] M. Paris speaks of *ejus infinita reprehensibilia vitia*. See M. Westminster, p. 276. Hemingburgh, p. 560. Joh. Rossus, p. 198. And Dr. Barcham in Speed, p. 587.





**IV. Illustration of a gold enamelled Ring, supposed to have been the Property of Alhstan, bishop of Sherburne; with some Account of the State and Condition of the Saxon Jewelry in the more early Ages. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 2, 1773.

**T**HE ring here represented was found by a labourer on the surface of the ground, on a common, at a place called Llys faen, in the North East corner of Carnarvonshire. It is gold, enamelled, of good workmanship, and in fine preservation. It weighs above an ounce, and must be worth between



tween 4 and 5 pounds. It is the more estimable on account of its Saxon inscription, since, if you except the legends on the coins, epigraphs conceived in that language are extremely rare [a].

THE mark in the first compartment after the letter A being taken for the Saxon Ð, this noble jewel was at first thought to have been the property and ornament of King Athelstan, AÐLHSTAN; especially as it was generally known that artificers in gold and enamel were in his time uncommonly excellent in this island [b]. But upon closer examination, that supposed letter proved to be no more than a superfluous decoration, something of the same kind being prefixed to the letter A. The legend therefore is + ALHSTAN, the last character being the Runic N [c], or, if it be no more than a cross, the N is expressed by the circumflex over the letter A.

ALHSTAN was a common Saxon name; for, to mention no others, it was born by three bishops of London [d], as also by the seventh [e] bishop of Sherburne, whose property, in preference to the London prelates, I take the ring to have been. It undoubtedly belonged to some great personage, the weight [f] and

[a] Two or three in Dr. Hickes's *Thesaurus*, and one in *Gent. Mag.* 1754, are all we have at present.

[b] *Affernus Menev.* p. 43. 58. 86. Edit. Wile, and Mr. Wile's Annotations: *Spelman's Life of Ælfred*, p. 156. 200.

[c] *Stephanus ad Saxon. Grammat.* p. 14, 15. also the three plates in Dr. Hickes's *Thes.* II, p. 4.  $\mathfrak{N}$  is easily formed from  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

[d] *Wharton de Episc. Lond.* p. 26. 28. 32.

[e] The Text. *Roff. and Flor. Vig.* omit Migfred or Wigfred, inserted by Mr. De Neve and Dr. Drake in his edition of archbishop Parker, and very justly; for as Migfred is supposed to have been slain by the Danes A. 833 or 834, this cannot well be, as Alhstan was consecrated A. 817, and sitting long after the year 834.

[f] One can scarcely imagine, supposing it to be the Runic character, that such a character should be employed in a Saxon inscription, especially in the Southern parts



and elegance of it clearly indicate that; and it is very natural, upon that account, to think it prelatial. Alhstan, bishop of Sherburne, sat from A. 817 to 867, as will be shewn below, whereas of the three bishops of London one died A. 898, another after 926, and the third after 995 [g].

THERE is much variety in writing the name of our prelate amongst ancient authors, as will appear from this table:

Aelestan. Chron. Sax. ad an. 845 in MS. Cot.

Aelfstan. Ingulph. p. 16. v. Elfstan below.

Aelhstan. Ethelwerd. p. 842.

Alchstan. Chron. Mailrof. p. 141. 143.

Alcstan. Chron. Mailrof. p. 142. Henr. Hunt. p. 345 in marg.

Idem, p. 348. Rog. Hoveden, p. 411.

Alestan. H. Hunt. p. 348 (but in the margin Alcstan and Algstan). also p. 345 in my MS.

Alfstan. M. Westm. p. 160. H. Hunt. p. 349.

Alhstan. Gul. Malm. p. 40, 41. Flor. Vig. p. 579. 684 (yet it should be acknowledged that p. 582 and 585 he has Ealhstan). Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 174.

parts of our island, later than the beginning of the ninth century. They appear sometimes on the coins of the heptarchy, but seldom afterwards. And if they are seen here on any other monuments besides coins, as sometimes they are, it was not, I think, till the Danes had settled here, and had, as it were, introduced them again. This may serve as one reason why the ring ought rather to be assigned to the bishop of Sherburn than the bishops of London. And no one needs object to a Runic character in company with Saxon ones, since in the older coins of Sir Andrew Fontaine's tables, *f* and *h*, i. e. L and S, frequently occur; the minter perhaps might have recourse to the character in question on account of there not being room sufficient for N, a conjecture not in the least inconsistent with what was advanced above concerning the antiquity of the Runic characters intermixed with the Saxon, and the argument drawn from thence for the age of the ring, because he would scarce have thought of it at a later period.

[g] Wharton, II. cc.

VOL. IV.

H

Ealhstan.



**Ealhstan.** Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 823. 845. in MS. Cant. and p. 867 in MSS. Laud. and Cant. Text. Roff. p. 24. of my MS. copy. Thorpe in Registr. Roff. p. 19. 22. Affr. Menev. p. 8. 18. Ethelwerd p. 843. See Alhstan above.

**Ealchstan.** Chron. Sax. ad Ann. 845. 867.

**Elstan.** Hoveden p. 415. Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 182. Ingulph. p. 15. in marg. Elstan.

**Ethelstan.** M. Westm. p. 154. but Affr. Menev. p. 6. Ethelwerd, p. 843. Chron. Mail. p. 142. H. Hunt. p. 384. and Hoveden, p. 413. 414. who all mention that affair, say, it was Athelstan king of Kent, and not our bishop, that fought the Danes at Sandwich. M. Westm. however, calls him Ethelstan p. 156. but p. 160 writes him Alstan. Adelstan, Wilkins, Concil. I. p. 177. and so Ingulph. p. 11.

**Healstan.** H. Hunt. p. 345. in marg.

WE find the like variations in the orthography of the names of the bishops of London [b]; and the principal cause of all this fluctuation probably was that in those days so few people could write [c]; and that, in a deficiency of autographs and contemporary originals, after-ages were obliged to follow sound, and perhaps erroneous pronunciation, which necessarily would subject them to misnomers. Ealhstan I presume might be the fullest orthography; but considering the little room there was for so many letters in the circumference of the ring, one need not wonder to see the name shortened either into Elstan, Alstan, or

[b] Wharton de Episc. Lond. II. cc.

[c] Thus it is much doubted whether Charlemagne with all his learning and knowledge could write. Eginhart. p. 118. Pere Daniel. I. p. 512.



as here into Alhstan, and as we find it written *literatim* in Malmſbury, Florence of Worcester and the ſubſcription to the council of Cloveſho A. 824. as alſo thrice in Malmſbury de Antiq. Glaſton. Eccl. p. 316. 360.

There is a particular which in my opinion greatly corroborates the appropriation of the ring to Alhſtan biſhop of Sherburne preferably to any of the biſhops of London; the dragon of Weſſex, ſo apparent in the firſt lozenge, plainly fixes the jewel, in my eye, to that kingdom. This was not only the device on the royal ſtandard of Weſſex, but the biſhop of Sherburne had alſo often conducted armies under it. No one therefore will be ſurprized that a decoration of this martial kind is aſſigned to a prelate of the church, and delineated on a jewel of his, when he reflects that this biſhop had been much engaged in affairs of war, and that his talent lay chiefly that way. The Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester inform us, that in the year 823, which was after he was conſecrated biſhop, Egbert the Great detached his ſon Ethelwolf, Ealhſtan his biſhop, and Wulfheard his alderman, with a conſiderable army, and they drove Baldred king of Kent acroſs the Thames [k]. Alſo, A. 845, when Ethelwulf was on the throne, the biſhop, in joint commiſſion with earl Ofri, headed the Dorſetſhire men, gave battle to the Danes in Somerſetſhire, ſlew many of them, and obtained the victory. William of Malmſbury ſuggeſts in the paſſage to be adduced below, that our biſhop alſo aſſiſted Egbert in ſubduing the Eaſt-Angles; and Matthew of Weſtmiſter adds, that the biſhop (whom he calls Ethelſtan) and earl Other engaged the Danes alſo at Sandwich, took nine of their largeſt ſhips, and put the reſt to flight [l]; but the au-

[k] See alſo M. Weſtm. p. 154. and Ethelwerd, p. 842.

[l] M. Weſtm. p. 156.



thor, I apprehend, is mistaken here [m]. Alhstan, however, was concerned deeply in an act of rebellion against his sovereign king Ethelwulf, and obliged him to come to his own terms [n]. These exploits by a prelate of the church were new and unheard-of things at this time of day in our island; for whatever might have been the practice of the Franes abroad, whose bishops long before this had some of them signalized themselves in fields of battle [o], Alhstan was the person that set the example here, and in succeeding times it was but too much followed, especially after the Norman conquest. But such was the bold and enterprizing genius of our bishop, according to William of Malmbury; "Hic [Alhstanus] tempore Egbrithi  
 " regis Westsaxonum et Adulfi filii ejus simul, et ultra, magnae  
 " in seculo potentiae, et ingens in consiliis author fuit. Eg-  
 " britho regi Cantuaritas et Orientales Anglos bellicis subegit  
 " laboribus. Adulfum videns mansuetioris ingenii, sedulis ad-  
 " monitionibus ad scientiam regni [p] stimulabat, contra Danos,  
 " qui tum primum insulam infestabant, segnem animans, ipse  
 " pecunias ex fisco sufficiens, ipse exercitum componens.  
 " Multa per eum in talibus, et inchoata constanter, et perfecta  
 " feliciter, qui annales legerit, inveniet. Vixit in episcopatu  
 " annis 50, felix, qui tanto tempore in procinctu bonorum ope-  
 " rum fuerit! Quem libenter laudarem, nisi quod humana cupi-  
 " ditate raptatus usurpavit indebita, quando monasterium nos-  
 " trum suis subtravit negotiis. Sentimus ad hunc diem im-  
 " pudentiae illius calumniam, licet locus ille statim eo mortuo  
 " omnem episcoporum eluctatus fuerit violentiam, usque ad

[m] See the remark on *Ethelstan* in the former page.

[n] After Menev. p. 8. M. Westm. p. 158. Gul. Malm. citat. infra. This affair is related at large by Monf. Rapin, p. 86.

[o] Pere Daniel, l. p. 151.

[p] Forte legend. *belli*.



“ nostrum tempus-----et erat ille (ut ex scriptis audivimus)  
“ sicut cupiditate praeservidus, ita liberalitate praecipuus-----  
“ Potentiam ejus per hoc quilibet cognoscere poterit, quòd re-  
“ gem ipsum Roma revertentem regno arcuerit, statutoque ad  
“ umbram regnandi filio, nisi arbitrato suo pace composita se-  
“ nem in sua regredi non siverit. Reliquit ecclesiam suam  
“ praedivitem praediis undecunque adquisitis, quanta si audias,  
“ hominis vel cupiditatem, vel felicitatem mireris [g].” To  
be short, Alhstan died A. 867, in the beginning of the reign of  
Ethelred I., after he had sat at Sherburne, where he was buried,  
50 years, so that he must have been consecrated A. 817 [r].  
Can one wonder, when this prelate was of such an active war-  
like disposition, of such an high spirit in all things, and almost  
continually embroiled in wars and tumults, which he regarded  
as in no respect unbecoming his episcopal character and func-  
tion, can one wonder, I say, he should esteem the device of the  
imperial standard a principal ornament for his ring? Certainly,  
one needs only to suppose the jewel to be fabricated at the time  
of one of his military expeditions, to make it extremely natural  
for him to prefer that symbol before all others, and to place it  
in the first compartment. It does not appear that the bishops  
of London of the same name had any of them the like martial  
turn, or ever shone in arms, whence it should seem they had no  
right to the device, and consequently that the ring must apper-  
tain to the warlike bishop of Sherburne, to the exclusion of all  
other claimants whatsoever.

THE ring was found in the North East corner of Carnarvon-  
shire; and as in 828, Egbert visited North Wales in an hostile

[g] Gul. Malmesb. de Pontiff. II. p. 247. See also Flor. Vig. p. 160.

[r] And so says the Chron. of Mailros, p. 141, expressly.



manner [s], it would be no extravagant conjecture to surmise, that Alhstan was a principal personage, or perhaps commander of the Saxon army, on the occasion, and that the ring might be then lost. Soon after it was found, another gold ring, of greater weight but quite rough, was picked up near the same place; a circumstance which betokens that a considerable army had been in those parts, which are rocky, and consist of large cliffs hanging over the sea, and therefore one cannot imagine that jewels of 4 and 5 l. value could ever come there but by some such means.

I AM not aware of any reasonable objection that can be raised against this appropriation, unless any body should fancy there were no artists here in bishop Alhstan's time capable of executing so elegant a piece of work. King Aelfred, it may be urged from Affer Menevensis, had indeed some expert jewellers, and wanted not materials; and there is extant a valuable remain of his, a specimen of most curious workmanship [t]. If it be asked, what evidence there is that before his reign there were any good workmen here? I answer, it is plain from the passage of Afferius here referred to [u], that the goldsmiths there spoken of were already in the island, and that Aelfred only caused them to exert themselves by the encouragement he gave them, the notice he took of them, and the instructions, or perhaps designs, which he furnished them with. “ Interea tamen Rex inter bella et praesentis vitae frequentia impedimenta-----et regni gubernacula regere & omnem venandi artem agere; *aurifices et artifices suos omnes, et falconarios, et accipitrarios, canicularios quoque docere;-----*

[s] Rapin, p. 83.

[t] Afferius and Mr. Wise ad eundem, both cited above. See also Hickes's Thesaur. I. p. 142.

[u] See above, p. 48.



"et solus assidue pro viribus studiosissime non desinebat." This observation leads us to enquire with good propriety into the state of the Saxon jewelry previous to the reign of Aelfred the Great, as far as at this distance of time, and in the present scarcity of memorials, it can be recovered.

It is not to be imagined that the Saxons, a nation inured to piracy, could have any arts amongst them, at the time they first entered this island, though we find mention made of a gold cup, in which Rowena drank to king Vortigern. Such a vessel might have accrued to Hengist by the fortune of war, and therefore does not imply any skill his people had of making it themselves; besides, it may be doubted whether any author but Jeffrey of Monmouth [w], and those that apparently transcribe or follow him, ever mentions this gold cup.

HOWEVER, whether afterwards they learned to work in gold by their commerce with the Britons, or by any correspondence abroad, we are informed by an instrument in Thorne's chronicle, that Ethelbert, the first Christian king of Kent, presented to the monastery of St. Augustine near Canterbury "Missorium  
"etiam argenteum, scapton aureum, iterum sellam cum freno  
"aureo et gemmis exornatam, speculum argenteum, armigaissa  
"oloferica, camisiam ornata[m] quod michi de domino papa  
"Gregorio sedis apostolicæ directum fuerat [x]." It is true these things were missing in Thorne's time, and perhaps the instrument itself may be spurious; but still one has reason to believe the particulars here mentioned were once in being at that rich abbey, and even in St. Augustine's days. We must enquire into the meaning of the terms. By *Missorium* or *Missorium* [y],

[w] Galfred. Monum. vi. c. 12.

[x] Chron. Gul. Thorne inter X. script. col. 1762.

[y] *Messorium*, quasi *mensorium*; see Du Fresne: but Pere Daniel chuses to deduce it from *mitto*: Hist. de France I. p. 66.



as it is otherwise written (which it seems was of silver), a dish for the table is thought to be meant [z]; hence probably the French *mes*, and from this our *mess*. The *scapton* was of gold, but then it is not certainly known what kind of vessel (for I take it to be a vessel, and not a sceptre [a] as Mr. Somner supposes) this was; perhaps a cup of some kind. *Sella*, a saddle adorned with gems, which necessarily would require a setting; and a bridle, the bit whereof was of gold. *Speculum argenteum*, a reflecter, of metal probably, but in a silver frame; or, if you will, a silver reflecter, as the *specula* now made of glass were antiently sometimes formed of silver, amongst other metals [b]. What follows relates to vestments, and I need not dwell upon them.

WHEN Gregory the Great dispatched Mellitus, Paulinus, and others, to assist Augustine in the affair of converting the Saxons, they brought with them some sacred vessels amongst other things from the Pope [c], which, though made abroad, and probably at Rome, would serve as a pattern for the Saxon workmen here. Augustine and his associates no doubt imported some, on their first arrival, which were useful for the same purpose; and both the sets, designed for the service of the church, and consisting consequently of chalices, patens, basons, &c. were certainly of plate [d].

It appears from venerable Bede, that Oswald king of Northumberland was served in silver at his table on high festivals,

[z] Somner. Gloss. ad X Script. in voce. Du Fresne, vv. MISSORIUM, MISSURIUM, MESSORIUM, et MENSORIUM.

[a] See Du Fresne in voce.

[b] Calmet, Dict. v. LOOKING-GLASSES.

[c] Bede. I. c. 29.

[d] Johnson, Vade mecum, II. p. 33. Collection of Canons, A. 785. art. 10. Ingulph. p. 27. See what is said below of king Ina and bishop Acca.



“positusque esset in mensa coram eo *discus argenteus* [e] regali-  
 bus epulis refertus;” and on one occasion, as the story has  
 it, being informed by his Almoner that a multitude of poor  
 people attended in the streets for his alms, he ordered the  
 victuals to be carried out, and the dish to be broken in pieces  
 and distributed among them [f]. This was before A. D. 642.  
 And soon after we read, that Wilfred, archbishop of York, was  
 master of a great quantity both of plate and jewels [g]. Malm-  
 sbury reports he was served in gold and silver, “quod aureis et  
 “argenteis vasis sibi ministrari faceret [h].” This prelate caused  
 the scriptures to be richly bound with gold and precious stones.  
 We shall meet with other as costly bindings below: and indeed  
 books, the sacred ones especially, had their coverings often orna-  
 mented in these ages with gold, silver, and gems [i]; the for-  
 mer were in plates, but the last must of course be set.

KING Oswald, A. 634, or soon after,

Extruit ecclesias donisque exornat opimis,  
 Vasa ministeriis praeftans pretiosa sacratis  
 Argento, gemmis aras vestivit et auro, &c.

Alcuin. ver. 275.

THE story of the dish is mentioned ver. 297. and the silver  
 shrine also of king Oswald at Bamborough, containing his arms,  
 ver. 306.

KING Offa greatly enriched the shrine of king Oswald at  
 Bardney. Alcuin's words are,

Postea Rex felix ornaverat Offa sepulchrum  
 Argento, gemmis, auro multoque decore,  
 Ut decus et specimen tumbae per secla maneret, &c.

ver. 389.

[e] This I suppose was a Missarium.

[f] Beda, III. c. 6.

[g] Eddius Stephanus, p. 87. Drake Eborac. p. 406.

[h] Gul. Malmesb. de Pontif. p. 262.

[i] Flor. Vigorn. p. 560. Sim. Dunelm. de Dun. Eccl. I. 12. Beda, p. 208.  
 690, 691. Edit. Smith. Pere Daniel, I. p. 69.



THE words of Eddius concerning Wilfrid, who died A. D. 677, are, "Nam quatuor Evangelia de auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis coloratis, pro animae suae remedio scribere jussit; necnon et bibliothecam librorum eorum omnem de auro purissimo, et gemmis pretiosissimis fabrefactam, compaginare inclusores gemmarum praecepit [k];" as if *inclusores gemmarum*, jewellers, were at that time common and ordinary artificers. Wilfrid had been often at Rome, and was otherwise a very considerable traveller, so that had artists in this particular branch been then wanting in those Northern parts, he had various opportunities of procuring them from a distance; and we find from the case of Biscop Benedict, who had frequently traversed France, and A. 676 brought both masons and glass-makers from thence [l], that it was no unusual thing, in those early ages, for our itinerants to import artificers from abroad.

BIRINUS, the apostle of Wessex, was a Roman, and probably brought some holy vessels to England, A. D. 634.

A. D. 668, archbishop Theodore entered the island from Rome, and, as must be presumed, brought more sacred vessels, and perhaps artificers with him. Some vessels were also imported by Biscop Benedict, A. 676 [m], which afterwards, it is presumed, became models for abbot Ceolfrid to follow [n].

WILFRID II. archbishop of York began to sit A. 718, and Alcuin relates concerning him,

Plurima nam titulis sanctae ornamenta venustis

Addidit ecclesiae, rutilo qui vasa decore

[k] Eddius Steph. p. 60. See the epitaph on Wilfrid in Godwin de Praeful. p. 654.

[l] Bede, Hist. Abbot. Winton. p. 295.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Ibid. p. 299.



**Apta ministeriis argentea jure sacratiss  
Fecit, et argenti laminis altare cruceſque  
Taxerat auratis—**

ver. 1222.

**He tells us also of archbishop Egbert, who acceded A. 731,  
and was brother of king Eadbert,**

**Inque Dei domibus multa ornamenta paravit**

**Illas argento, gemmis vestivit et auro.**

ver. 1266.

**ALBERT began to sit at York, A. 767, and was the precep-  
tor of the learned Alcuin, who has left us the following very  
ample account of his performances at that cathedral:**

**Namque ut bellipotens sumſit baptiſmatis undam**

**Edwin rex, praeſul grandem conſtruxerat aram,**

**Textit et argento, gemmis ſimul undique et auro.**

**Hoc altare ſarum [o] ſupra ſuſpenderat altum,**

**Qui tenet ordinibus tria grandia vaſa novenis:**

**Et ſublime crucis vexillum erexit ad aram,**

**Et totum textit pretioſis valde metallis.**

**Omnia magna ſatis, pulchro molimine ſtructa,**

**Argentique meri compenſant pondera multa.**

**Aſt altare aliud fecit, veſtivit et illud**

**Argento puro, pretioſis atque lapillis,**

**Martyribuſque crucique ſimul dedicaverat ipſum.**

**Juſſit ut obrizo non parvi ponderis auro**

[o] A luſtre or chandelier, a crieſet.



Ampulla major fierat, qua vina sacerdos  
Funderet in calicem, solemnia sacra celebrans.

ver. 1490.

ALBERT had not only been at Rome, [see Alcuin ver. 1458], but Alcuin, the relater, was probably employed in his works at York, and at last inherited his library.

WHEN the body of St. John of Beverley, who died A. 721, was translated into a new shrine about the year 1037, a ring among other things was found in his coffin [p]. This was a Bishop's ring, and probably a rich one; and it is a loss to us that it is not particularly described.

IN Mr. Drake's Eboracum, Appendix, p. cii. there is a noble gold ring inscribed with Runic characters; it is probably ancient, and a prelatial ornament: but as the age cannot be precisely determined, I thought proper to mention it in this place after St. John's.

WASTOLD, bishop of Hereford, acceded A. 718, and died before 736; he began to make a very rich cross, which was finished by his successor, who caused the following lines to be inscribed upon it, as if the Saxons were then no strangers to the art of engraving:

Haec veneranda crucis Christi veneranda sacratae,  
Cooperat antistes venerandus nomine *Wastold*  
Argenti atque auri fabricare monilibus amplis &c [q].

BEFORE A. D. 763, when an horse was worth but three ounces of silver, an hunting-horn was estimated at six ounces, and consequently must have been embellished with silver. A trumpet about the same time was rated at twenty-eight cows,

[p] Dugd. Hist. of St. Paul's, part ii. p. 55.

[q] Godwin de Praeful. p. 477. from Malmsh. de Pontif. p. 285. However, one of the *veneranda* in the first line must be wrong.—Perhaps we should read the first *venerandae*, referring it to *crucis*, and *sacrata* for *sacratae*.



when an horse was worth but four, whence one must suppose it to have been enriched by the goldsmith [r]. Cows at this juncture were the standard of valuation in Wales, as the beaver-skin is now in Canada, and might be worth about 18 s. 9 d. apiece [s].

At Glastonbury the Saxons had crosses plated with gold and silver. "In ecclesia Glastoniae est quaedam crux, merito  
" venerabilis, auro et argento cooperta, quae quondam locuta  
" est [t];" and below in the same page, "Est ibidem tertia  
" crux caeteris minor, populo tamen celebrior, ab antiquo auro  
" argentoque vestita, &c." and king Ina of Wessex, who died A. 727, and had been at Rome more than once, erected a chapel at Glastonbury, called the *silver chapel* [u], and furnished it most sumptuously with all kinds of sacred utensils and ornaments. "Fecit etiam idem rex construere quandam capellam  
" ex auro et argento, cum ornamentis et vasis similiter aureis  
" et argenteis, ac infra majorem collocavit. Ad capellam itaque  
" construendam duo millia et sexcenta et quadraginta libras  
" argenti donavit, et altare [w] ex ducentis et sexaginta quatuor  
" libris auri erat; calix cum patina de x libris auri; incensarium  
" de viii libris et xx mancis auri; candelabra ex xii libris  
" & ix mancis auri; vas ad aquam benedictam ex xx libris argenti;  
" imago Domini et Beatae Mariae et duodecim apostolorum  
" ex centum et lxxv libris argenti, & xxxviii libris auri;

[r] Godwin de Praeful. p. 597.

[s] An ounce of silver, at this time, must be worth, at the lowest, 1 l. 5 s.; a horse consequently was worth 3 l. 15 s.; and a cow, one quarter of that. The trumpet was therefore valued at 25 l. 4 s. and the horn at 7 l. 10 s.

[t] Gul. Malmsh. de Artiq. Glast. Eccl. p. 304.

[u] This seems to have been an oratory within the great church.

[w] There was probably a table of gold; see below.



"palla altaris, et ornamenta sacerdotalia undique auro et lapidibus pretiosis subtiliter contexta [x]." I make no doubt but the workmanship of these vessels and pieces was equal to the materials, and excellent in the several kinds, though perhaps it might be exceeded by the performances of St. Dunstan afterwards, who was abbat here, and was particularly eminent in the art of jewelry [y]. The monasteries, in his time, were universally possessed of immense treasure [z].

ACCA, bishop of Hexham, was displaced from his see, for some unknown cause, A. 732, after replenishing his church with jewels in the most magnificent manner, "Porro beatae memoriae adhuc vivens gratia Domini Acca episcopus, qui [a] magnalia ornamenta hujus multiplicis domus de auro et argento, lapidibusque pretiosis, et quomodo altaria purpura et serico induta decoravit, quis ad explanandum sufficere poterat [b];" by which, I conceive, we are to understand, that the vessels of gold and silver were garnished and set with gems. Acca had been at Rome, and resided there some time [c].

OFFA, the great king of Mercia, who died 796, was possessed of gems to a considerable value, and his workmen well knew how to set them to advantage. When the body of St. Alban was discovered, he adorned the skull with a golden circle, or diadem, on which were engraved these words,

Hoc est caput Sancti Albani Anglorum Prothomartyris [d]; and moreover caused the coffin or shrine, in which the body

[x] Malm'sb. *ibid.* p. 310.

[y] Osbernus in vit. Dunstani, p. 94. 96. compared Higden, p. 270, or Brompton, col. 878.

[z] Rapin, p. 74.

[a] Legend. f. *qui quomodo.*

[c] Rapin, p. 74.

[b] Eddius Stephanus, p. 62.

[d] M. Paris, vit. Offa, p. 28.

lay,



lay, to be plated with gold and silver and precious stones,  
 “ Rex igitur Offa christianissimus locellum memoratum *laminis*  
 “ *aureis argenteis gemmisque pretiosis de thesauro suo magnifice*  
 “ *sumptis decenter adornari*——jussit [e]” and it appears after-  
 wards in the same author, that this splendid prince had bestowed  
 many other valuables on his newly-founded church of St. Al-  
 bans; for M. Paris, speaking of Vulfge, the third abbot of that  
 house, who was a great dilapidator, and waster of the convent’s  
 goods, says, “ Vasa, quae rex Offa contulerat concupiscibilia,  
 “ *pallas et monilia* (quorum jactura erat inrestaurabilis) aliena-  
 “ vit [f].” Offa not only lived in close intimacy with Charle-  
 magne, but had spent an whole year at Rome; and A. D. 784  
 two legates from the Pope arrived and staid in England some  
 time [g]. In brief, there is evidence sufficient of the advanced  
 state of the mechanical arts in the kingdom of Mercia at this  
 time in the elegance of Offa’s coins; for I suppose it may be  
 assumed generally, that as these arts are reciprocally connected,  
 wherever there existed a terseness and beauty in the mints, there  
 necessarily was an equally good taste and delicacy in embroidery  
 and jewelry, drawing, engraving, casting, &c.

To draw nearer to the supposed age of our ring; Egbert the  
 Great, king of Wessex, resided in his younger age not less than  
 twelve years in the court of Charlemagne [h]; and it is not  
 improbable, that some artificers in the enameling way might be  
 brought into England from abroad by him. Charles was a  
 great patron of arts and sciences, and had a commanding in-  
 terest and influence in Italy, so that the very best hands of those  
 times must necessarily have abounded at the places of his resi-  
 dence. He wanted not materials for those artists to work upon,

[e] M. Paris, *ibid.* p. 28.

[g] Rapin, p. 75.

[f] *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 37.

[h] *Idem*, p. 62.



neither gold, silver, nor gems [i]. The riches he acquired in Pannonia were immense [k]. His own crown, and that of Lewis his son, were of gold; his swords had hilts of gold or silver, and that which he wore on solemn occasions was set with stones [l]. It is said again, "in festivitibus veste auro  
 "textis, et calceamentis gemmatis, & fibula aurea sagum astrin-  
 "gente, diademate quoque ex auro et gemmis ornatus incedebat [m]."  
 Louis le Debonnaire, at the time of his death, which happened 840, was possessed of an infinity of jewels [n]. Whereupon it should be considered, that a long and frequent intercourse had subsisted between the Saxons and Franks. Many of the former, as has been occasionally remarked, had passed backwards and forwards through France in their way to Rome [o], whither our prelates were continually going. Ethelbert king of Kent married a French lady [p], as Edbald also did [q]; Sigebert king of East Anglia resided in France some time, and on his return brought Felix a Burgundian along with him to England [r]. A Scots priest educated in France was sent to Finan to reconcile him to the Roman mode of keeping Easter [s]. Agilbert, made bishop of Dorchester A. 630 [t], was actually a

[i] Eginhart, c. 26, 27. 33. Pere Daniel, I. p. 472. It appears from many places in the first volume of this author, that France, both now and before, abounded with gold and jewels, as p. 69. 200. 293.

[k] Eginhart, c. 13.

[l] Idem, c. 23. The prelates in these times often wore hangers with gems. P. Daniel, I. p. 522.

[m] Ibidem; et vide P. Daniel, I. p. 483.

[n] P. Daniel, I. p. 592.

[o] See also Rapin, I. p. 53, 54. 57. 68. 74.—not to mention Cadwalla, p. 61. and the Saxon merchants, p. 65. nor Augustine's Journey to Arles, p. 66.

[p] See Rapin, p. 65.

[q] Idem, p. 58.

[r] Idem, p. 55. 76.

[s] Idem, p. 71.

[t] Idem, p. 74.



Frane, and Wina bishop of Winchester had been bred and consecrated in France [a], of which country Eleutherius bishop of Winchester also was [w]. We have seen above various instances of the Saxons resorting to the court of Charlemagne [v] (not to mention the learned Alcuin) and their connections therewith. Many also went abroad for their improvement in monachism, or education, for, as Dr. Hopkins writes, "[c]um pauca aut nulla tunc temporis extiterunt in Anglia monasteria, multi religionis amore aut eruditionis gratia in Galliam transierunt, teste Beda, Hist. Eccl. III. 8 [y]."

I return to Egbert. He was a greater and more powerful monarch than any of his predecessors, either in Wessex, or the other states of the heptarchy; and on a coin is decorated with a radiated diadem, a regal ornament probably seen and observed by him on the coins, both Roman and Francic [z], abroad; and which, supposing him to have actually worn such an *insigne*, as in reason we ought to suppose, must have been made by one of his goldsmiths. Eucida, the Mercian, who was contemporary with Egbert, is adorned with a crown of the same kind; but then it must be acknowledged that Egbert on another piece has a radiant crown of four pearls [a]. To say a word here of the *kyngbelms*, as they were called [b], of these times. St. Edwin of Northumberland, according to those who take that coin in Sir Andrew Fountaine's fifth table to be his, wears a radiated

[u] Idem, *Ibid.* [w] Idem, *ibid.*

[x] See in particular the story of queen Edburga and the English gentleman, Rapin, p. 62.

[y] Hickes, *Thesaur.* II. p. 116.

[z] Le Blanc, p. 16. 22. 58. in the plate.

[a] Sir Andrew Fountaine, tab. viii.

[b] i. e. *Cynehelmes*. Selden, *Tit. of Honours*, p. 172. Ed. 1631. *Lyc's Dict. v. Lynchealm.*



circle or diadem; but that piece, as has been lately shown [c], belongs not to him, but to Edward the Confessor, the ornaments of whose head are various. Offa [d], and Cynethrit, and Cuthred of Wessex, wear a string of pearls like some of the Franks; Offa, however, in some peanles, has a plain fillet, as Ethelwulf and Burgred also have. Athelstan king of Kent has an helmet given to him [e]. So that to judge from the coin, and one knows not where else to apply, Egbert was the first that took the radiated crown, and the crown raised with pearls.

To proceed. Wiglaf, king of Mercia A.D. 833, gave to the abbey of Croyland "*calicem aureum, crucem auream, et tabulam capellae propriae laminis aureis deauratam [f]*," where by *tabula* is meant the flat or upper part of the altar, which was not only gilt, but covered with old plates [g]. The king says again, "*Offero etiam refectorio dicti monasterii, ad usum praefectis quotidie in refectorio, scyphum meum deauratum, et per totam partem exteriorem barbaris vinitoribus ad dracones pugnantibus caelatum, quem crucibolum meum solitus sum vocare, quia signum crucis per transversum scyphi imprimitur interius, cum quatuor angulis simili impressione protuberantibus; et cornu mensae meae, ut senes monasterii bibant inde in festis sanctorum, &c [h]*." The cup was of silver gilt [i], and was partly ornamented with engraving, and partly embossed; the drinking horn, which was his own royal utensil, and was only to be used on festivals at the abbey, was richly garnished, no doubt, with silver at least, if not with gold. This king abounded with jewels, and at the same time having great ob-

[c] Dissertation annexed to Assemblage of Metropolitan Coins of Canterbury.

[d] Sir Andrew Fountaine, tab. viii. and tab. i. N° ii. for I take this coin to be his.

[e] Ibidem, tab. ii. N° 8.

[f] Ingulphus, p. 8.

[g] Idem, p. 22.

[h] Idem, p. 9. 98. 106.

[i] Idem, p. 27.

ligations



ligations to this noble [k], it is written of him "omni anno  
 "vitae suae saltem semel feretrum Sancti Guthilaci cum multa  
 "compunctione visitaret, et aliquod pretiosum notabileque jocale  
 "offerret [l]." Other kings of Mercia besides Wiglaf had been  
 also benefactors to Croyland in the way of presenting jewels;  
 for Ingulphus, speaking of Bertulph, says, he plundered and car-  
 ried away "quaecunque frater suus Withlafius, vel alii reges  
 "Merciorum jocalia plurima in sanctae ecclesiae ornamentum  
 "larga manu contulerant [m]." The monks of Croyland, to  
 prevent their rich moveables from falling into the hands of the  
 Danes A. 870, threw into a well "tabulam magni altaris la-  
 "minis aureis contextam----decemque calices cum lavatoriis  
 "pelvibus, ollis, patellis, et aliis vasis aeneis [n];" where the  
 chalices and basons, we must suppose, were of silver, the rest of  
 brass; the plated altar table was at this juncture irrecoverably  
 lost; and in the year 874, the valuables of this house were in a  
 manner totally annihilated. "Tum omnes calices monasterii  
 "praeter tres, ac vasa argentea universa praeter crucibulum With-  
 "lafii regis, ac alia jocalia valde pretiosa, vel in monetam mutata,  
 "vel pro moneta vendita, vix insatiabilem ingluviem Ceolwulphi  
 "subreguli saturare voluerunt [o]." Have we not reason good for  
 believing, that in these days the Mercians could work very finely  
 in gold? and yet they were tributaries to Egbert the Great.

KING Ethelwulf, successor of Egbert, not only sent his young-  
 est son to Rome, but lived an whole year there himself [p], and  
 on his return brought with him a queen from France. He

[k] Rapin, p. 64.

[l] Ingulph. p. 11. 22.

[m] Idem, p. 11.

[n] Idem, p. 22.

[o] Idem, p. 27.

[p] R. Higden, p. 253. Our Kings, prelates, and their agents, had been per-  
 petually going to Rome long before this. Hence in the Saxon chronicle, A. 889.  
 it is noted as a thing remarkable, that nobody went to Rome that year, but only  
 two couriers.



erected a shrine at Malmesbury for St. Aldhelm, "quo sancti  
 " Confessoris ossa locaret; in anteriori parte ex solido argento  
 " iactis imaginibus; in posteriore vero levato metallo miracula  
 " figuravit quae jam sermo depromsa, unde putatum est hunc  
 " fuisse librum vitae in quo ista legerit, sed postea tempore  
 " Danorum omisum: *sagittarius crystallinus* rex Ethelwulfus ap-  
 " posuit scrinio, in quo nomen ejus *historia aurea* est legere [q]."

Whence it appears, that at this time, and during the incumbency of bishop Alhstan, the Saxons could both work in relief, or rather chase, one of which arts must be intended by *levato metallo miracula figuravit*, and knew how to cut crystal or gems, so as to inscribe letters upon them. In this reign our bishop was most active and flourishing, and the most powerful subject, excepting the king's sons, in the kingdom.

Is it not clear from this detail, that in the middle of the ninth century, and long before king Aelfred was at leisure to instruct his goldsmiths, the Saxons might very well be able to finish a ring of equal taste and excellence with this? and that, when the name of Alhstan appears so plainly upon it, and that in all probability it is a prelatial ring, one has good reason to ascribe it to the bishop of Sherburne, as its proper owner? Let the learned judge, to whose candour and consideration I willingly defer.

SAMUEL PEGGE

July 6, 1771.  
 Whittington.

[q] *Gul. Malmesb. de Pontif. V. p. 359.*



**V. *An Account of Human Bones filled with Lead.*  
*In a Letter from Mr. Worth, late of Difs, F. A. S.*  
*to Edward King, Esq. With Observations thereon*  
*by Dr. Hunter.***

**Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 9, 1774.**

**SIR,**

**Difs, Norfolk, June 6, 1774.**

**I** HAVE taken the liberty of transmitting to you a bone, which seems to be extremely singular. It was found in making a grave in the chancel of Badwell Ash, near Walsham le Willows in Suffolk (in Blackbourn hundred), about the middle of last April. The sexton of this parish, after removing the pavement and about two feet of the earth, came upon a vaulted arch, which was so very strongly cemented together, that it was with great difficulty he broke through it. After he had removed the upper part of this arch, he proceeded to throw out the contents of the vault, which was made to contain only one coffin, and in which were a number of bones that appeared to have been deposited there a long time, and some of the mould which he let fall in, in breaking through the arch; but no appearance either of wood, or lead coffin. Upon his casting the bones out, he thought some of them seemed to weigh very heavy; on which he took several of them into his hands, and found to his surprize that they appeared to be filled with lead; or (to use his expression) to have had lead run into them: this strange circumstance soon invited the neighbouring people to pick



pick them up; and a friend of mine acquainting me with it, I went to the church, and got this specimen of the sexton, being the only one then left. This is the lower part of the Os Femoris, and is ten inches long. It weighs four pounds, six ounces, two drachms, avoirdupois; and every part of the bone is filled, almost equally alike, and even the solid as well as the cellular parts are quite incorporated with pure lead, which evidently shews itself, on cutting into any part of it; but a great deal of the former is broken off. I believe, Sir, I may venture to assert, that this very extraordinary effect cannot be imitated by any means we know of; and that lead, in its most perfect state of fusion, cannot be injected similar to this, and I can only guess how this could have happened. I conjecture it to have taken place from one of these two causes; viz. either from lightning; or else from some subterraneous vapours taking fire in the vault. The affinity of lightning to metals, and its wonderful effects, leave some room to imagine it might possibly have been from that. But then, on the other hand, no accident having ever happened in the memory of man to the church or pavement, and the solidity of the arch, leaves us room to attribute it rather to a subterraneous fire, and the situation of the church rather strengthens this surmise, it not being more than four or five hundred yards from a tract of low meadows; and I should think the bottom of the vault to be nearly on a level with the surface of the meadows; and in these situations the inflammable vapours are mostly seen: but I leave you, Sir, to judge of it with more propriety than I am able to do, these being only my own crude thoughts.

I am, SIR, with much respect,

Your most obedient servant,

J. WORTH.

Obser-



**Observations on the above Bone. By Dr. HUNTER.**

“ **THIS** specimen is the lower half of an adult thigh-bone. The metal contained appears to be genuine unmixed lead; that is, not reduced to an amalgam, or mixed with any thing that would make it melt with a small degree of heat: and it appears to be but little corroded on its surface.

**LITTLE** more of the bone itself remains than the spongy internal part which had contained the marrow; the solid, cortical or external part of the bone being every where removed, except at the lower part forwards, and a little of the surface which had made the joint, and especially at the cavity between the two condyles.

**THE** lead is all granulated, corresponding to the medullary cavities and pores; and the interstices contain the bony remains, which are of the common brown colour of church-yard bones, and do not appear burnt.

**AT** the enlarged extremity of the bone the cells are more partially filled; some containing lead, some being quite empty, and many of them containing a hard, brittle, whitish stony substance, which effervesces with a spirit of sea-salt.

**AT** the lower extremity, the lead had run upon the surface of the bone, in some parts forming thin plates, and in one place making an irregular mass, closely covered with earth and gravel.

**FROM** the appearance, the natural supposition would be that the lead had been poured into the medullary canal after the marrow had been consumed by time.

**THE** specimen of a bone upon which I have made the experiment is exactly similar, except that it is more imperfectly filled, and has a little more of the burnt appearance.”

**MR.**



Mr. King shewed this bone to Dr. Fothergill, who also thought it possible to fill the cellular part of human bones with lead, when, after many years, they are become quite dry; and suggested, that this might perhaps be a method sometimes used to preserve relics. And it is certain, that bones so filled have been met with in other places. A skeleton was discovered, a few years ago, in the church at Newport Pagnel, which had all the bones thus fully saturated with lead: and there are some bones, in the same state, in the library of St. John's college in Cambridge.



**VII. Remarks on the Antiquity and the different Modes  
of Brick and Stone Buildings in England. By Mr.  
James Essex of Cambridge.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 8, &c. 1774.

**T**HOUGH Britain contains within itself all the materials necessary for building, it is probable the ancient inhabitants lived in holes and caverns of rocks, or formed themselves huts, which they covered with turf supported by branches of trees bound together with twigs of osier. In after-ages, when commerce brought the Phoenicians and other civilized nations acquainted with them, they learned from those strangers many useful arts. But their habitations, according to Caesar, were in his time little improved, their towns were only a confused parcel of huts, placed at a little distance from each other, without order or distinction of streets; they generally stood in the middle of a wood, the avenues whereof were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with trees that had been felled to clear the ground. Such habitations, though neither elegant nor convenient, were suited to the plain and simple manners of the inhabitants. In such buildings we find little or no use for stone or brick; and yet they could not be so unacquainted with the use of stone, as might be expected from this account of



their towns and villages: for, if Stone-Henge was a British work, though we are uncertain in what age it was erected, we must allow they had some skill in masonry at that time. But we have nothing of British architecture remaining now, on which the marks of the chisel appear, except this valuable piece of antiquity; nor any kind of masonry, by which we can determine with certainty, what sort of materials were used by them before the arrival of the Romans. Mr. Whitaker indeed thought he had discovered in the year 1766, in the Castle-field at Manchester, the foundations of a building, which he says were laid in a manner which clearly bespoke them British [a].

“ About half a yard below the surface of the ground was a  
 “ layer of large irregular blocks, some hewn from the quarry  
 “ of Collyhurst, and others collected from the channel of the  
 “ river, and below it were three layers of common paving  
 “ stones, which were not compacted together with mortar, but  
 “ bedded in the rude and primitive cement of clay. Such was  
 “ the structure of this secret foundation which was about two  
 “ yards in breadth and about one in depth, and as such it ap-  
 “ pears to have been very ancient. As such it must have been  
 “ laid before the preparation of lime for the purposes of build-  
 “ ing had been introduced among us, and consequently before  
 “ the Sistuntii had been subdued by the Romans.” From this  
 description of the foundation, it is difficult to determine with  
 any certainty by whom or when it was laid: for, though we  
 should allow the Britons had some skill in masonry before the  
 Sistuntii had been subdued by the Romans, it would be difficult,  
 if not impossible, to distinguish their works from others, unless  
 they appear in the form of Druidic temples or altars. But  
 where nothing but the substructure of a building remains, it is  
 impossible to determine from that alone, whether it was British

[a] History of Manchester.



or Roman, or whether it was the work of after-ages, unless we can prove that the Britons had a peculiar method of working, which the Romans never used, nor any other people since the time of the Romans: or that they employed in their work some sort of materials, which we are certain were not used by any but themselves. By the breadth of the foundation discovered in the Castle-field, it appears to have been made for the support of some considerable building; not of timber like the huts or hovels of the Britons, but of stone: and whether it was British or Roman, there is no doubt but the stones in the superstructure (if its height was proportioned to the breadth and depth of the foundation) were cemented with lime prepared for that purpose; there being many buildings, ancient and modern, built with stones and mortar, whose foundations are laid with rough stones, and clay instead of mortar; as will appear, if we examine the several methods of laying foundations in different ages. The customs and manners of the Britons before Caesar's invasion are so little known, that nothing certain can be collected relating to them; and what may be gathered from his account seems but imperfect, as he had little opportunity in either of his expeditions to see much of them, or learn more than he might have collected from their neighbours the Gauls. It will therefore be in vain to enquire into their manner of building, or the materials used by them, before the Romans had gained a settlement among them; since all that can be said on the subject must be meer conjecture: but from the works which the Romans have left in various parts of the world, we find they were generally very careful in laying the foundations of their walls. They usually dug till they came to solid ground, as Vitruvius directs [b], and into it as far as was ne-

[b] Lib. i. ch. x.



cessary to support the weight of the wall they intended to erect upon it: and if they found the ground soft or marshy, they dug into it as far as they could, and strengthened it with piles of alder, olive, or oak, a little singed, which being driven near together, they filled up the spaces between with charcoal. The heads of the piles being made level, they began their foundation with such rough stones as they found near the place, or could procure with least trouble; which they laid in clay if they found it near, or with any other material in which they could bed them. But when they found the ground solid and fit to build on, they dug as far into it as they judged necessary, and after settling it well with rammers, they began their foundation upon the natural soil whether clay or gravel, with such rough materials as they found near at hand—*ubi sunt saxa quadrata, sine flix, sine caementum, aut coctus later, sine crudus, his erit utendum.* Vitruv. l. i. cap. v. In this manner they laid the foundation of the stationary wall at Manchester with paving stones bedded in the primitive clay, though the superstructure was laid with lime [c]. In the same manner they laid the foundations of the walls at the town of Burrough-field on the Foss in Leicestershire, where the stones were set edgewise in clay, but the superstructure was laid with lime mortar: and at the Roman station of Aldborough in Yorkshire, the walls of the town appear to have been built upon layers of large pebbles laid upon a bed of blue clay four or five yards in depth. In like manner the lower courses of Severus's wall are laid in clay, but the upper parts are cemented with mortar [d]. From these and other examples which might be produced, it appears, that the foundations in the Castle-field were laid in a manner

[c] History of Manchester.

[d] Appendix to the History of Manchester.

commonly



commonly practised by the Romans: and unless it can be proved that *they adopted the British mode of building without the British necessity for it* [e], we may with reason suppose those foundations were Roman, rather than British: for if their huts and hovels were such as Caesar has described, they certainly required no foundations of stone to support them; and it does not appear that they made any artificial foundations to support those large stones, which they set up in their places of worship. But this method of laying foundations was not peculiar to the Romans, or to any other people since their time; for it was used in every age and country from that time to this. Alberti says [f], the ancients used coarse pit gravel, and common stone, which they picked up by chance, which have lasted many years; and upon pulling down a very high strong tower at Bologna in Italy, they discovered that the foundations were filled with nothing but round stones and chalk to the height of nine feet, the other parts being built with mortar. And in England, the old steeple of the church at Prees in Shropshire was lately found to be raised upon a course of boulders and clay immediately above the natural rock [g]. The Saxons and Normans built after the Roman manner, and used the same methods of laying their foundations, with or without piles as occasion required. The foundations of many considerable buildings were piled [h]. London bridge, begun in 1176, was built on piles; and the foundations of the ancient stone bridge over the river Grant (from which Grantbruge takes its name) were

[e] History of Manchester.

[f] Lib. iii. c. v.

[g] History of Manchester.

[h] The church of Croyland abbey in Lincolnshire, built in the year 716, was founded on piles.



piled; and though we are ignorant of the time when it was built, we are certain it must be very ancient.

The builders of the fifteenth century had another method of laying foundations without mortar, somewhat different from their predecessors. They dug their trench as deep and wide as they judged necessary for the walls they had to build, and having made the bottom of it very level, they made it as firm as they could by ramming it. On this they spread an uniform stratum of sand or gravel six or eight inches thick, which being likewise well rammed, they laid upon it a thin coat of ashes or lime core. This being settled in the same manner, another stratum of gravel or sand five or six inches thick, and sometimes a layer of loam or clay upon that, completed the substructure; which being also well rammed, the rest of the foundation was raised to the level of the ground with rough stones and mortar, or with rough stones and clay instead of mortar, where the soil produced clay. I cannot say whether this method of laying foundations was used much earlier than the fifteenth century; but from the superstructures of those I have seen, they appeared to be of that age: but they are sometimes found without any buildings upon them, and when cut transversely may be known by the several strata appearing in stripes of different colours; but when they are cut the contrary way, it is difficult to distinguish them from made ground that has been raised at different times. It is almost as difficult to distinguish the age of a building by the masonry used in it, when nothing more than the plain walls appear, as it is to distinguish when a foundation was laid, by the materials and manner of laying it only. We find the several species of masonry, which the Romans introduced, were used by the Saxon, the Norman, and more modern masons, notwithstanding the various styles of architecture



architecture which prevailed in different ages. But though it is probable, the several species of masonry used in Britain were introduced by the Romans; it is certain the Britons used stone long before the Romans were settled among them, or before Caesar invaded their country. How they acquired the art of cutting stones, and erecting them in circular or other figures, will easily be conceived, when we consider the traffick they are supposed to have carried on with the Phoenicians and Egyptians; either of whom could have furnished them with men, if not materials, for erecting such a work as Stone-henge; such temples being very common among those people, as they were among the Hebrews and other nations before the time of the written law, until the Tabernacle was erected by Moses. In Stone-henge we find the masons imitated the work of the carpenter, by connecting the stones with mortices and tenons; and it is probable, in those parts of the island where timber was scarce and stones plenty, they used them for building huts, whose door-posts and lintels were made of stones framed together after the same manner, as in some places, where there is stone fit for the purpose, they now make posts and rails of them instead of timber: and thus far we may suppose the Britons had advanced in the art of masonry before the Romans were settled among them. It is said, that after Agricola had compleated the conquest of the country and civilized its inhabitants, by inducing them to adopt the customs of the Romans, they began to erect temples, noble porticos, and many fine structures both public and private, of a very different taste from any that had hitherto been seen among them. But it may be doubted, whether all that has been said of those fine structures which once adorned Britain be true, there being no remains of temples or porticos, nor of the bases, shafts, or capitals of the columns which once adorned them; nor any other fragment of an order,  
from



from which we can form the least idea of their skill in architecture or sculpture, if we except a few altars, &c. which are so wretchedly executed, that they would at this time disgrace the hand of a common mason: and it may indeed be doubted, whether those arts ever arrived to any degree of perfection in Britain while the Romans were masters of it; architecture declining very fast after the time of Augustus, when it was in its greatest perfection at Rome: and how much it was degenerated in the time of Dioclesian and Constantine, may be seen in the building of that age; particularly in the palace at Spalatro, and other buildings said to be erected in the time of Constantine; among which we must not include what is called his arch at Rome, as that may be ranked among the finest pieces of ancient architecture, and was erected in the time of Trajan, when the arts were in greater perfection.

“ But, that the Britons in Roman times were great artists in building, and had numerous workmen, Dr. Stukeley says [1], we have a signal proof; since about the time of our Emperor Carausius, they were forced in Gaul to send for masons into Britain, to rebuild their cities and public buildings, destroyed by the frequent irruptions of the Franks, and other German nations.” As Carausius made Britain the chief place of his residence, without doubt he employed many men in public works to secure that part of the empire he had usurped; but that Emperor had little leisure, during the six years of his reign, to erect many buildings for the ornament of his country, except walls and fortifications; which required the skill of an engineer more than the taste of an architect: and it is probable, that Constantius after the defeat of Allectus found many of that sort

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 39.



of workmen in Britain; and as he was at that time restoring the city of Autun, he sent a number of them to that place to assist in rebuilding the walls of it.

We have very few remains of Roman work in England in which hewn stones have been used, and it is rather difficult to determine what is Roman. The late lord Burlington supposed, that Micklegate at York was Roman [†]; but had he examined it with attention, he would (with more probability) have pronounced it Norman. There are indeed other works of that age which some have thought were Roman, because they find in them the same kind of materials, and the same method of disposing them. But these marks are not always to be depended on; for the same sort of materials and method of working which had been used by the Romans, were used by the Saxons and Normans, long after their departure from Britain; as will appear, if we examine the several species of masonry introduced by them. But when we find the materials, the workmanship, and the style of building, all conformable to that age, we may venture to pronounce them Roman, especially when they are found in a place which those people had long inhabited, and where other works are found which were evidently executed by them. Of this sort is the South front of the North gate of the city of Lincoln, and what remains of the South gate; for the materials are such as the country produces, the form of the arch and the method of constructing it are in the Roman manner; and that the place where it stands was formerly inhabited by the Romans, the variety of ancient inscriptions and other valuable remains of antiquity which have been found there suf-

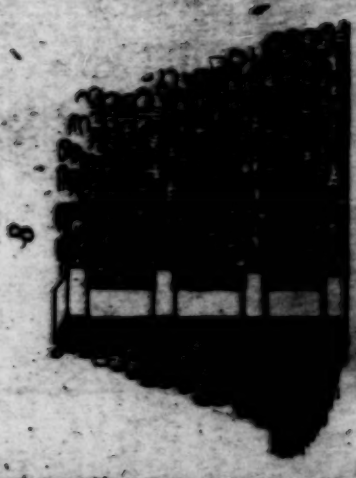
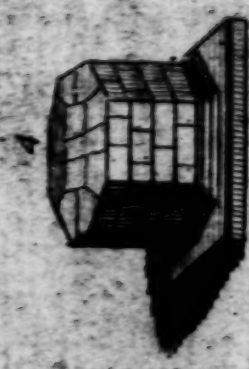
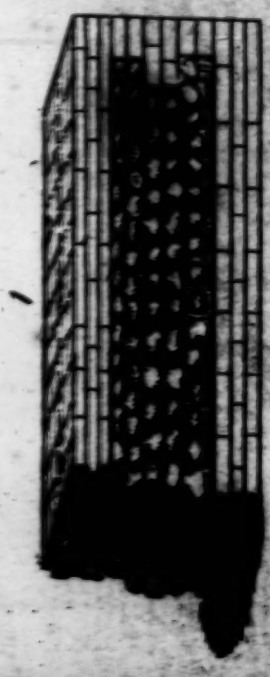
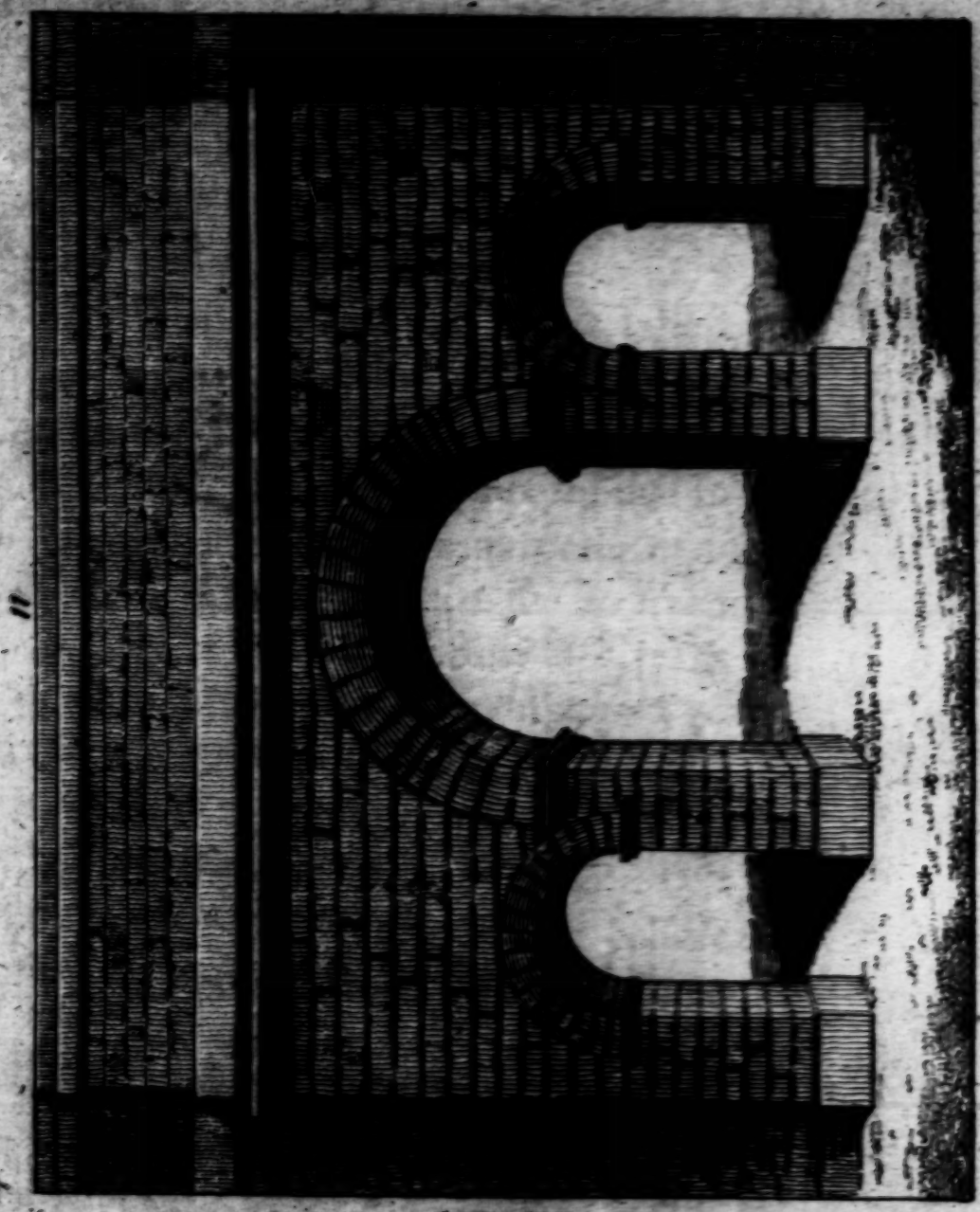
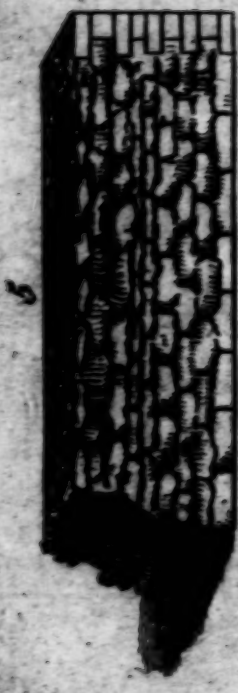
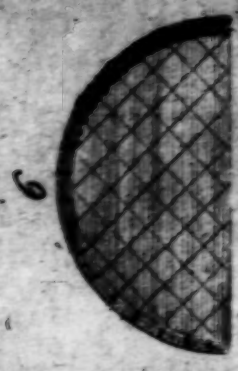
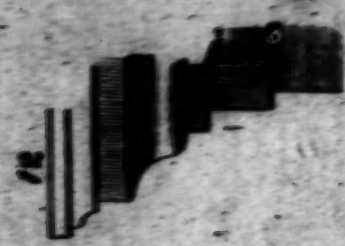
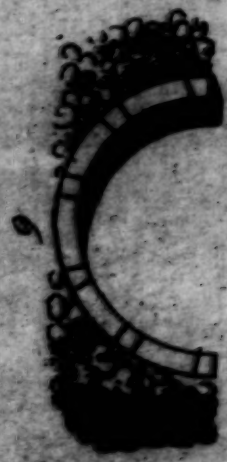
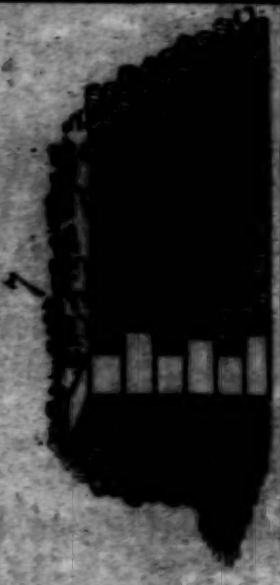
[†] Drake's History of York. It was his lordship's opinion, that the arch of Micklegate was either Roman, or built since Inigo Jones's time.



ciently testify. In what age this gate was erected, is uncertain; but from the plain and simple style of it, we may suppose it was built at a time when architecture was not in a flourishing state in any part of the Roman empire. The design however was not bad. If we may judge of the whole from the part which remains \*, it will appear that the architect had some knowledge of proportions, though the workmen had little skill in masonry; the whole being executed in a rude but substantial manner, such as might be expected from the hands of such masons as are commonly employed in building rough walls and fortifications. At present there appears no more of it than the center arch, and part of one of the small arches; the other being covered by an adjoining house, and the piers which support them buried by the ground which has been raised to the height of the impost of the side arches; but as there are yet remaining some traces of a regular design, we may form some judgment of what it was. The stones are so much eaten by time, that it is difficult to take any measures with certainty: but by comparing the several measures of the parts with each other, I find that in setting out the design, the architect made use of a module for regulating all the parts, which is nearly equal to three feet nine inches of English measure, and probably was intended for two and a half Roman cubits. The several parts being measured by this module are as follows. The diameter of the great arch is four modules; the diameter of each side arch two modules; the breadth of each pier is one module. From these measures we may suppose the height of the center arch was six modules; of the side arches four modules, the whole width of the front twelve modules, and the height of it ten modules. All the stones of which the arches are formed are cut

\* See Pl. III. fig. ii.











in a wedge-like form, but are thin, and of uncertain lengths and thicknesses. Those in the great arch are at a medium two thirds of the module in length, those of the small arches about half a module. The imposts of the great arch were about one fifth of a module in height, and wrought with mouldings, part of which is now remaining, the upper member only being broken off [?]; from whence we may conclude, there were other mouldings about it when it was built, though now there are no remains of them. There are two fronts or arches to this gate, but only part of the front next the city is Roman; and that appears to have been almost ruined long before the parts above it and the outer front were erected, the ancient work being distinguished from the modern by the remarkable length of the stones; and the whole seems to be built without mortar: But time has penetrated so far into the joints, that it is difficult to determine whether it was or not.

From the measures which I have given for the height of this arch it appears, that eleven feet at least are buried under the present road, and that the ground in this part of the city has been raised so much since the gate was built. But this raising of the ground, though great, is not more here than in other parts of the city: for in the year 1739 the floor of a Roman Hypocaustum was found opposite the west end of the cathedral, twelve feet at least below the surface of the ground in that part, and near as much below the floor of the cathedral, by which it appears, that the ground in several parts of the city had been uniformly raised at least ten feet before the cathedral was built; the floor of which was at first rather above the surface of the ground before it, though now it is considerably lower, which is the case of most of our ancient churches.

[?] As in Pl. III. fig. ii.



THE Roman walls were generally built with cement and tiles or flat stones, laid in courses at convenient distances to bind the parts together, and at the external and internal angles to strengthen them. These bands consisted of three or four courses of tiles or stones laid through the wall, and were placed at two or three feet from each other; the intermediate spaces being raised with a sort of cement composed of mortar and pebbles, and sometimes of rag-stones, or such materials as the country afforded. In this manner the walls of Verulam, Colchester, Chesterford, and other places, were built; in all which these bands of tiles are found. Though we know of no British work in which any of these tiles or bricks have been used, it is no reason for believing that the Britons did not know how to make them before the Romans settled among them. Alberti says [m] (on the authority of Varro) that the Gauls built their houses with baked bricks; which if true, it is probable the Britons might sometimes build in the same manner: for as a correspondence subsisted between them, their manners and customs might be nearly the same as well as their religion. It is as probable that they sometimes built their hovels with unbaked bricks made of clay and straw tempered together and dried in the sun [n], in the same manner as they are used in some places at this time. But these unbaked bricks are very different from the unbaked bricks of the ancient Romans, such being adapted to hotter climates than Britain, where they have more sun to bake them and (as Sir Henry Wotton observes) [o] more pa-

[m] L. iii. c. 6.

[n] Est autem in Hispania ulteriore Calentum, & in Gallis Massilia, in Asia Pitane, ubi lateres cum sunt ducti & arefacti, projecti natant in aqua. Vit. lib. ii. cap. 3.

[o] Elements of architecture.



hence to wait for them, as they were not fit for use unless they had been made four or five years [p].

If the Romans, or Britons after the departure of the Romans, used any of the unbaked bricks, it must have been in building hovels and in such works as are common in these times: and it should be observed, that neither Britons nor Romans employed the baked bricks when other materials could be procured. Even in those places where necessity obliged them to use them, they did it sparingly, either in making bands to strengthen their walls, or in turning of arches, for which purposes proper materials could not always be procured, they being very often obliged to use small pebbles or rag-stones for the greatest part of their work. And this must sometimes have happened to the Saxons and Normans, neither of whom made use of bricks when they could get stones fit for their purpose; but when the nature of their work required it, they made bricks to supply the place of stone. That the Saxons sometimes built with bricks and cement after the Roman manner, and sometimes with squared stones, may be collected from Bede's description of the hermitage built by St. Cuthbert in his retirement, the walls of which he says were not of *squared stones, nor of tiles and cement* [q], but of such rough materials as he could dig on the spot. In this description Bede intended to shew the meanness of St. Cuthbert's habitation, by comparing it with other buildings of that age, many of which were built with squared stones and others with *tiles* and cement: from whence we may conclude, that the art of making tiles (or bricks as they are now called) was not forgotten from the time the Romans left Britain

[p] Vitruv. l. ii. cap. 3.

[q] Non secto lapide, vel latere & caemento (Bede Vita S. Cuthberti, cap. 17.)



to the seventh century, when St. Cuthbert lived; and that we are not to imagine every building, in which tiles and cement are used after the Roman manner, was raised by the Romans; or that every building, which consists entirely of the same sort of tiles which they used, was built out of the ruins of Roman walls; though it may be said that many of the buildings in which these ancient tiles are found, are situated in or near some Roman station. This does not prove, that these tiles were all collected from the ruins of Roman buildings; but rather that the builders, whether Saxon or Norman, were obliged, as the Romans had been before them, to make tiles, because in those places there were no other materials near at hand fit for their purpose.

THERE are at St. Albans two churches which were built entirely of the same sort of tiles, as those which had been in use in the time of the Romans; one is the church of St. Michael, built by the Saxons in the tenth century; the other is the abbey church, built by the Normans in the eleventh. That both these churches have many Roman tiles in their walls, is very probable, especially that of St. Michael, which standing near the walls of Verulam, the workmen had an opportunity of collecting most of the materials from thence. But that the whole was built with old tiles, may be doubted; there being several parts of the work, in which it was more convenient to make new, than to form the old into the shape and dimensions they wanted, considering how difficult it was to cut them. When we consider the dimensions of the abbey church, the height and thickness of its walls, and the number of its pillars and arches, which were all built with these sort of tiles, it is not easy to conceive that so many should remain in the walls of Verulam, as were sufficient to compleat so great a work, after the Saxons had



Had supplied themselves from thence with materials for building the abbey church in the time of Offa, and afterwards for the church of St. Michael, with other buildings they might have raised in the space of three hundred years before the present church was erected; especially when we find that in those walls, they used tiles only for bands, which consisted of no more than three or four courses at most, and those were so well cemented by time and the goodness of the mortar, that few could be got out whole and fit for use. But in the present church, the nature of the several parts of the work, and the hardness of the Roman tiles, rendered it necessary to make tiles of different forms and dimensions, for such parts as required to be neat or exact; and for all such parts, it appears on a near inspection, the tiles were most of them moulded on purpose, particularly for the newels of the stairs and the small round pillars, which were all made in circular moulds; and as they must have made these on purpose, without doubt they made others for the major part of their work, though they used old materials for the filling in or core of the walls.

THE church of St. Botolph's priory in Colchester was erected about thirty years after that at St. Albans, and being entirely built with wall tiles except the West door, is supposed from its situation to be built with the ruins of Roman buildings. But in this church the pillars being some square, others round, required a greater degree of exactness in the shape of the tiles, than at St. Albans, where the great pillars are all square. For these round pillars the tiles were evidently moulded on purpose, not only for the shafts, but the capitals. Besides the round pillars which required a particular sort of tiles, there are in the West front of the church a row of small square pillars and intersecting arches, an ornament peculiar to Saxon and Norman buildings.



buildings. These likewise are formed with tiles moulded for that purpose, and are very neat. In short, the whole building is so well executed, and is so sound a piece of work, that there can be no doubt of the builders being experienced workmen, and that the greatest part of the materials were new, and but few of them collected from the old Roman walls. What has been said of this church may be said of the towers of other churches in Colchester, in which there appear to be many of these wall tiles.

THE castle at Colchester has not only many of the same sort of tiles which are found in Roman walls, but they are laid in the same manner with bands; and yet, if the building is examined with attention, there may be traced in it the marks of Norman architecture, and it appears that many parts of the work are executed with tiles made on purpose, though many among them may have been gathered from old Roman walls.

FROM these examples it appears, that wall tiles or bricks were made and used by the Saxons and Normans in the same form and manner as by the Romans, and that the art of making them was not lost after the latter left Britain, to the time of Henry the Second. But it may be observed, that they were not all made to a certain standard, though they kept very nearly to that which the Romans introduced, which was *one Roman foot and a half in length, one foot broad, and two inches thick*, which is about one foot five inches  $\frac{4}{5}$  by eleven inches  $\frac{6}{7}$  English measure; but their dimensions varied according to the nature of the earth they were made of, though the moulds they were made in were of the same measures.

IN the walls of Chesterford some are 16 inches and  $\frac{1}{2}$  long by 11 inches and  $\frac{1}{2}$  broad, and 1 inch  $\frac{1}{2}$  thick. Others taken out



out of the same walls are 17 inches long, by 11 inches and  $\frac{1}{2}$  broad, and 1 inch and  $\frac{1}{2}$  thick. In the walls of Colchester the mean measure is 16 inches and  $\frac{1}{2}$  long, by eleven inches broad.

THIS difference in the dimensions of the Roman tiles will be found very inconsiderable, when an allowance is made for the shrinking of the earth in burning, which must be more or less according to the temper of the earth they are made of; so likewise the colour and hardness of them will differ according as they are more or less burnt. But the Romans, as well as the Saxons and Normans, had tiles for various sorts of work, which they made in moulds suited to their intended uses. For the pillars which supported the floors of their hypocausts they made some round, others square, of eight or nine inches diameter (as at Lincoln), and for floors from twenty-two inches to twenty-three inches square, these being made in moulds two Roman feet square. They had likewise tiles for covering their houses, &c. some of which were found in a Roman sepulchre near York in 1768 [r]. With tiles of this sort the ancient church of St. Peter at Rome was covered in the time of Theodore, as appears by his name imprinted upon them; and fragments of such I have found in the walls of Colchester, which probably were built with the ruins of those buildings which were destroyed by the Britons under the command of Boadicea; and as most of the Roman towns were walled after that time, tiles of various sorts must be found in them, worked in with the other materials.

How long the English continued to make their wall tiles after the Roman manner is uncertain, though they began to

[r] See *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 177.



change the form of them between the time of Henry the First and Edward the Second, when the Flemish manner of making them was introduced, and has continued ever since with a small variation in the size, but always keeping the same proportions. It is probable that the extensive commerce carried on by the people of Flanders about that time, brought the English acquainted with their manner of making them, and the convenience of their form made them continue the use of them to the present time; however, the name of *bricks* was not universally adopted till after the time of Henry the Sixth, they being generally known at that time by the name of *wall tiles*. If we could depend on Mr. Whitaker's positive assertion [1], the present appellation of *brick* is actually derived to us from our British Ancestors. They probably received it from the Belgic Gauls, who were the ancient inhabitants of Flanders, where bricks were in use in the time of the Romans; and at this time there may be seen, in their principal cities, buildings of various styles and ages built of bricks: but, during the intercourse between England and France, after the time of Edward the Third, they might have introduced the French word *Brigue* [2].

WALL tiles, or bricks, were used in some of the buildings belonging to the priory of Ely in the time of Edward the Second, and were made in the Flemish manner, but of different sizes, some being twelve inches long, six inches wide, and three inches thick; others ten inches or ten  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, five inches wide, and full two inches thick. They were used in building

[1] History of Manchester, p. 357.

[2] When the Flemish bricks were adopted, they introduced the Flemish manner of building with high gable-ends arising with steps, and finished with something like a chimney ornamented with bricks moulded in various forms, and sometimes curiously put together.



walls at King's Hall in Cambridge in Edward the Third's time, at which time they were sold from 6 s. to 6 s. 1 d. the thousand, which in those days was a great price. In the twenty-third of Edward the Third, Edmund Gonville, rector of Terrinton and Rushworth in Norfolk, began to build a college in Cambridge on the ground where the Tennis court and orchard of Corpus Christi college now stand, part of which is yet remaining, and is built entirely with bricks. They were used at King's Hall in the same university in the time of Richard the Second, and sold at 6 s. 8 d. the thousand. In the reign of Henry the Fourth, they were sold at 5 s. and 7 ½ d.; and in the reign of Henry the Fifth, at 6 s. 8 d. the thousand. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, we find them mentioned in the accounts of King's college chapel, by the name of *wall tiles*, and they were used in the inside of the walls in the upper parts of that building. About that time they became the fashionable material for building, intermixed with ornaments of stone, and have continued in use ever since under the name of bricks.

THE only remains of British masonry in England is the temple of the Druids on Salisbury plain; but in that we may observe the marks of the chisel, and the traces of a geometrical design: and from thence we may conclude, that the Britons had more knowledge of building at the time it was erected than was necessary for erecting huts and hovels with boughs and turves. But at what time this temple was made is uncertain, though we may suppose it was long before the Romans visited the island under the conduct of Caesar, or before Rome itself had a being: and as we may conclude, that the Britons understood the art of building with stone in those early ages, we may likewise suppose they were not ignorant of the art of making bricks; as it is probable both were introduced by the people who first disco-



vered and settled upon the island, though we know not the precise time when this settlement was made. But as these and many other useful arts were invented by the inhabitants of the old world, and used by the patriarchs soon after the deluge, they were never lost by any of their descendants, except those who, following the pastoral life, lived in tents, and had neither cities nor towns to dwell in, but were perpetually shifting their habitations from place to place. Among these people, not only the art of making brick, but many arts which were useful to others, were neglected and lost, because they were of no use to them. But among those people by whom the first kingdoms of the world were founded, all the arts which were useful to mankind were preserved; and as those people multiplied, and sent forth new colonies, so those arts were carried into different countries wherever they settled. If Britain then was an island before it was inhabited, which is very probable (though it might have joined with the continent before the deluge), the first inhabitants, whether driven by chance upon the coast, or invited by the distant prospect from the opposite shore, must have come from a country where the art of naval architecture and navigation had been retained, and without doubt other useful and necessary arts, such as agriculture, and the art of building with brick and stone. These arts, being once introduced, could not easily be forgotten; for, as the inhabitants increased, more land must be cultivated, new habitations were wanted, and the old required frequent renewal: but being situated at the extremity of the world, and little known by the most civilized part of it, they long retained their ancient simplicity of manners, and made few improvements in their habitations; and until their country was invaded by the Romans, some traces of that religion which prevailed in the world.



world before the call of Abraham appeared among them, and the form of the patriarchal temples was till then retained, though it had long been disused in the more civilized nations of the world; where the Greek and Roman architecture had been introduced. From hence we may suppose that the Britons had but little skill in masonry before the Romans settled there, though they were not entirely ignorant of the use of brick and stone: but we are ignorant of the manner in which they used them; whether they cemented them with mortar, or bedded them in slime like the builders at Babel; it being impossible to distinguish their works (were they still in being) from those of succeeding ages, which, being stripped of the ornaments of architecture, have no other marks whereby we can determine with certainty the time in which they were built.

THOUGH several sorts of masonry were introduced by the Romans and used by the Britons in Roman times, the art was almost lost during the unhappy state of the country after the departure of the former. Nor was it better understood by the Saxons at the time they were converted to Christianity, as appears from the accounts of Bede, and other ancient writers, who seldom mention the building of a church or monastery, in those times, but they say that foreigners were sent for, to build them after the *Roman manner*; and if we examine the buildings erected in those ages, independently of the ornaments of architecture which adorned them (which was likewise after the *Roman manner*), we shall find that the foreign masons, who were introduced by the Saxons, used no other kinds of masonry than those which the ancient Romans had introduced before, who in their buildings generally followed the direction

of



of Vitruvius, or imitated such as were in use at that time in other parts of the empire.

The materials used by the Romans in building walls were such as they could get with least trouble near the places where they built. In some they used ragstones, which in several parts of the country lay near the surface of the ground, and may be collected in large quantities with little trouble: in other places, where small pebbles or flints were plenty [u], they used them with ligatures of flat ragstones, or with tiles made of baked clay, when flat stones could not be found convenient for the purpose within a reasonable distance of the work: but in those places where stone was plenty, and of a proper size and quality, they used hewn stone for the facing of their walls, and filled the middle of them with ragstones, flints or pebbles, or any other kind of rough stones they could find near at hand.

It does not appear that the Romans used any stones of larger dimensions than what may be found in many places near the surface of the earth. It is therefore probable that those quarries, from whence the builders in after-ages were supplied with large stones, were not then discovered; on which account the workmen, who were brought hither when the Saxons were converted to Christianity, were obliged to use stones of a moderate size, as the Britons had done before: and when the Normans became masters of the country, and found no quarries from whence they could collect large stones fit for their buildings, they sent into Normandy for what they wanted. Caen stone was preferred to all other, probably for the convenience of the masons, who being Normans were more used to work in that stone than

[u] All small stones used for this purpose, whether pebbles, flints, or ragstones, come under the denomination of *cement*; and the workmen, who were employed in building walls with these materials, were called *cementarii*.

any



any other. But as Caen stone could not be conveyed to many parts of the kingdom without much difficulty and great expence, they were obliged in many places to use stones of a moderate size, until quarries were discovered which afforded others of greater dimensions; and such, the number of churches, and other great works which were carrying on soon after the Conquest (in various parts of the kingdom), obliged them to open as near as possible to the places where they were building. But in those parts of the country where no stone could be found, or brought from other places without very great expence, they made *wall-tiles* for those parts of their work where squared stones are usually employed, and built the other parts of their walls with rags, pebbles, or flint stones, and sometimes with small rough clunch or fire-stones. But the Norman masons seldom used these soft stones in building, except in the inner parts of their walls, or where it was least exposed to rain and frost; and though this sort of stone may be found in many places of large dimensions, though it makes very neat work, and is wrought with little labour, it was seldom used till the time of Edward the First, except in the filling of walls or in the *pendentifs* of vaults, where it was preferred on account of its lightness, and convenience of working; and whenever they used this or any other sort of free-stone, they were careful to place it in their work in the same position it lay in the quarry, which made it less liable to be split by the weight it had to support, and less subject to be torn by frosts.

It is probable that the most ancient kind of masonry used in England is that composed of cement and tiles, as used by the Romans in the walls of Verulam, Colchester, Chesterford, and in other places. These walls were generally built with small rough stones, whether pebbles or rags, mixt with coarse mortar,



mortar, and tiles laid at convenient distances to bind them together, and at the internal and external angles to strengthen them. These bands consisted of three or four courses of tiles laid through the wall, and were placed at two or three feet above each other, the intermediate spaces being raised with cement [w].

THIS sort of masonry was much used by the Romans in the walls of their stations in several parts of England; but I do not recollect that it is mentioned by Vitruvius, and therefore suppose it was introduced after the time of Augustus. It is not however peculiar to this country; for the walls of Turin, the amphitheatre at Verona, and other ancient structures, are built in this manner.

THOUGH the Romans often used it in Britain, it is uncertain whether it was used by the Britons after their departure, or by the Saxons before the Conquest. But it is probable the latter used it; for we find the Normans imitated it in the castle at Colchester, and probably in other places where it has been mistaken for Roman work [x].

THE Romans seldom built the walls of cities entirely of bricks or with facings of bricks, and the inner parts filled with cement; but they frequently used that kind of masonry in large buildings, such as temples and theatres; many examples of which may be found in Italy and other parts of Europe.

THE Saxons used it in the ancient church of St. Michael at Verulam, and the Normans in the abbey church at St. Alban's; in the church of St. Botolph's priory in Colchester, and other

[w] See Pl. iii. Fig. 1.

[x] Dr. Stukeley says, the chapel in Colchester castle, and the Tower of London, were both built about the time of Constantine. Account of Stone-Henge, p. 8.



places where stone could not be easily procured. This sort of masonry, though composed of bricks and cement, is of that kind which Vitruvius calls *emplecton*, of which there are several sorts; one is composed of flat rag stones laid like bricks in regular courses on both sides of the wall and bonded through it in several places, the intermediate space being filled with a cement of pebbles or rough stones and mortar [y].

IN this manner the thick walls of several Saxon and Norman buildings were raised: and in the Norman churches where large pillars are used the outer facings are generally composed of squared stones, laid in regular courses, and the middle filled with cement [z]. Such were the pillars in the old cathedral of St. Paul in London, and those of Ely, Peterborough, and many others of that age; and the outer walls of these churches are of the same sort of masonry, the middle of them being filled with cement between two faces of squared stones, or, an outside facing of squared stones, and a facing of flat rough stones within. But where they built with pillars of smaller diameters they used squared stones, which made a regular bond through every course. This was used by the Romans, and called by Vitruvius *Infertum* [a]. It was used also by the Saxon builders in round and octangular pillars in the conventual church at Ely, and in other places; and it is frequently found in buildings erected soon after the Conquest; and when arch buttresses were introduced, they generally constructed them with this sort of masonry, being the strongest and most beautiful.

IN those places where flat rag stones could be procured in plenty, they built walls with them and mortar, laying them in such a manner as to bind each other in regular courses through the thickness of the wall. This made a very strong and du-

[y] Fig. 2.

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[z] Fig. 3.

O

[a] Fig. 4.

rable



rable sort of masonry, though not very beautiful; and in walls of this sort the angles are strengthened, and the arches of doors and windows turned with squared stones. Vitruvius calls this sort of masonry *Pseudisodomum* [b], because the courses though regular were not all of the same thickness. This kind of work is very ancient, and was used by the Greeks and Romans, and we find it in buildings of all ages in England. The Saxons used it in the conventual church at Ely, and we meet with it in many churches built after the Conquest. It was used in the time of Henry the Sixth in his chapel in Cambridge, and in this we find all the joints are set with small black flints.

It is remarkable in all Saxon buildings, and in most of the Norman, that the walls, pillars, and arches, are composed of such small stones that the courses seldom exceed seven or eight inches, and very often we find them less; notwithstanding they could procure larger stones, though they seldom used them but for bases or capitals to their pillars, or for some particular parts of their work where they thought large stones were necessary. And in this they followed the advice of Vitruvius, who for good reasons directs in every manner of building to use small stones rather than large [c].

PALLADIO takes notice of a kind of masonry which he calls *Riempiuta* or coffer-work. The method which he supposes the ancients made use of to build these walls, was by placing two rows of planks edgeways as far distant from each other as the thickness they intended to make the walls, and then filling the space between them with cement composed of all kinds of stones; and in this manner the work was continued from course to course until they had raised their wall to the height they intended. Vitruvius [d] recommends a similar method for

[b] Fig. 5.

[c] L. iv. c. 4.

[d] L. vi. c. 10.  
building



building piers in deep water with cement and *Pozzalaná*, but takes no notice of any walls being built in that manner. I am therefore of opinion that the walls of *Servius*, which Palladio mentions [e], were not built in the manner he supposes, being in reality of that sort which Vitruvius calls *Emplecton* before mentioned, consisting of two thin walls, composed of flat stones or pebbles laid irregularly in stiff mortar, which being raised about a foot in height, the space between them was filled with mortar and cement. Though Vitruvius mentions this as an ordinary method of building walls [f], we find many examples of it in England, not only of Roman work, but in Saxon and Norman buildings, especially in those places where flints or pebbles could be collected in large quantities, there being many large churches and lofty towers built entirely of pebbles or flint stones, excepting the jaumbs and arches of doors and windows, or such parts as could not be executed without using squared stones.

To the several kinds of masonry already mentioned, which were introduced by the Romans themselves, or by those foreigners who were brought hither to build after the *Roman manner*, we may add another, which Vitruvius calls *opus reticulatum*, which was much in fashion for some time among the Romans [g], but afterwards disused on account of its want of solidity. The beauty of this work arose from the form of the stones, which were perfectly square, and from the disposition of them, which was diagonal [h]; and the joints appearing like the meshes of a net, it thence acquired its name. But the disposition of the stones, for which it was chiefly admired, being contrary to nature and reason, soon discovered its want of

[e] L. i. c. 9.

[f] Qua etiam nostri rustici utuntur. Vit. L. ii. c. 8.

[g] Quo nunc omnes utuntur. Vit. L. ii. c. 8.

[h] Fig. 6.



strength. Therefore the Saxon and Norman masons knowing its defects, never used it in a manner described by Vitruvius, though they frequently imitated it as an ornament in their *frontons*, and filling of arches [1]. Examples of which may be seen at Lincoln, Ely, Peterborough, Rochester, and other Norman buildings: but it was quite laid aside before the time of Henry the Third.

THE Normans frequently raised large buildings with pebbles only, and sometimes with pebbles intermixt with rag stones. Of these I have observed three sorts, which differ but little from the common Roman work, and may be considered as a fancy of the builders, or the fashion of the country or age in which they were used. The first is that of pebbles only, the outside of the wall being laid in regular courses with stones of nearly the same bigness, and the angles of the wall strengthened with squared stones [2]. The next is with pebbles and rags, having the angles fortified with squared stones about two feet high, and six or seven inches square, which were tied into the wall by flat square stones about six or seven inches thick laid on the top of them [3]. In building these walls, they raised the outer shells to the height of one stone with pebbles only, or with rags on one side and pebbles on the other, and filled the middle with cement and mortar; and when the first course was dry enough to receive another upon it, they laid the square bond-stones on the angles, and continued the thickness of the next course with flat rag-stones in the manner which Vitruvius calls *Pseudisodomum*. This seems to have been the prevailing mode of building in Cambridgeshire in the time of William Rufus; for I find it in the church of St. Giles in Cambridge,

[1] Some of the walls of Rome built in this manner.

[2] Fig. 7.

[3] Fig. 8.

which



which was built about the year 1092 by Hugolina wife to Picot Baron of Bourn in Cambridgeshire, and in the tower of St. Benedict's church, which from the form of the arches and other particulars appears to be of the same age. In this tower not only the angles but the arches are found with long and short stones alternately [m]; another example of which I have seen in the oldest part of the church of Ickleton near Chesterford in the same county. The third sort of masonry composed of pebbles and rag-stones has two or three feet of pebbles or rags laid regularly, and above them several courses of rag-stones laid angularly, or in manner of *berring-bone* as it is called by the workmen [n]. The age of this sort of masonry is not easily ascertained. It may be seen in some part of the walls of the city of Lincoln; but when they were built is uncertain. There is a round tower of a church at Bungay in Suffolk built in this manner: and in Cambridge we find it in a part of the castle wall; which cannot be older than the time of Edward the First, or Henry the Third. We often meet with an irregular sort of walling, in which rags are sometimes laid in this manner; and we frequently see the backs of very old chimnies in which tiles are so ranged: but these are common to all ages and places where irregular materials were used.

As this rough manner of building with rag-stones and other irregular materials required a coat of plaistering to make them fair without and neat within, we find that those small churches and other buildings which were built in this manner were always plaistered on the inside, and frequently on the outside, with a composition of lime and sand, the remains of which may be traced in many of the Saxon and Norman churches, and in some more modern: and in those which were built in the eleventh

[m] Fig. 9.

[n] Fig. 10.

century



century, with wall tiles after the Roman manner, the walls, pillars, and arches, were finished within and without with the same kind of plaistering or stucco; as may be seen in the ancient parts of the abbey church of St. Albans.

From this sketch of the different kinds of masonry used in England since the time that the Romans first settled here, there appears little difference between those which the Romans introduced, and those which were used by the Saxon and Norman builders under the denomination of Roman work; and these were used afterwards with no other alterations than what were necessarily occasioned by the changes which were made in the style of architecture at different periods, excepting some peculiarities which might have been the fashion in some particular age or part of the country; for such changes were sometimes made either for use or ornament, and, being first introduced by masters of note into some public building, they were soon imitated in others of less consequence, whether they answered the intended purposes or not. Where small churches were built in the neighbourhood of cathedrals or conventual churches at the time they were building, we generally find they agree in the style and manner of execution. An instance of this we have in the remains of a small church at Denny abbey, about eight miles from Ely, which was built while the nave of that cathedral was building, in the time of Nigellus bishop of that see, and has in it so much of the same style and manner of building, that we may conclude it was built under the direction of the same master, and in all probability by masons sent from thence: for it was usual in those days to send them in companies from one place to another to build churches or monasteries, particularly in the time of the Saxons, when converts were daily making in distant parts of the country, and many



many monasteries were founded. It seems agreeable to this custom that Naiton king of the Picts, when he wrote to Ceolfrid abbot of Girwy for instructions relative to some disputes concerning the time of keeping Easter, desired that he would send him some *architects* [a] to build a church of stone after the Roman manner. For in those days the Roman manner was not universally understood, and perhaps the form of a Christian church was so little known that none but ecclesiasticks knew what conveniences were necessary for performing their religious ceremonies with decent solemnity; and as the monastery of Girwy had not been founded many years, it is probable their church had not been long finished, and that there were some experienced architects among the monks of that house, who were capable of conducting the works which Naiton intended to put under their care. And as we may suppose the architects who were sent on such occasions would naturally follow the manner of building which they had been accustomed to, as far as the nature of the materials they had to work upon would permit; so we may likewise presume they would introduce any peculiarity, which they had been accustomed to, if they imagined it would add to the strength or beauty of their work. From hence we may account for those little particularities, which are often found in buildings of the same age, and may sometimes assist us in ascertaining their dates, though they do not constitute a different style of architecture, nor a distinct species of masonry.

[a] Hist. Eccles. L. v. c. 21. By *architects*, he means persons well skilled in the art of working in stone, or master masons. By the Saxons they were called *heah cnartizan* *rcan* *gepeopce*.—and afterwards Free Masons from the French *Franc Maçon*.



As the Roman style of architecture which was introduced in the time of the Saxons was used by the Normans with little variation, so no material change was made in the methods of building until the middle of the twelfth century, when many alterations were made in the style of architecture, and the bases and capitals of the pillars, and very often the pillars themselves, surrounded with small shafts were made of marble highly polished. Marble was used for these purposes until the latter end of Edward the Second's reign, though the other parts of their buildings were executed with common stones of moderate dimensions, and laid in the same manner as in the preceding ages. But in the following reign we find that marble was much neglected (either on account of the great labour required in cutting and polishing it, or because they found that the fine polish that was given it was not of long continuance); and before the end of Edward the Third's reign it was quite disused. The marble used for the above-mentioned purposes was brought from quarries near Petworth in Sussex, or from the Isle of Purbec. It is commonly of a greyish colour with a shade of green, and, being full of small shells filled with spar, it appears when polished speckled with small white spots. But it was long the popular opinion, that those marbles which were so much used in the time of Henry the Third were factitious; that the small slender shafts which surround the pillars in Westminster abbey, in Salisbury and other cathedrals built in that age, were made of paste, composed of various materials which could be moulded into any shape, and by an art unknown to our modern artists could be made as hard as marble and smooth as glass. The same error has prevailed respecting Stonehenge: for it was supposed, that the ancient Britons were masters



of this ingenious art, and that the vast stones of which it is composed are not natural but artificial marbles.

THOUGH marble was much used in buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it does not appear by history or examples, that it was used before that time either by the Saxons or by the Britons in Roman times. Bede indeed mentions a coffin of white marble [p] with a cover to it, which the monks of Ely found near the walls of Grantacester in the year 695, which might be of Roman workmanship, but whether it was marble may be doubted; for Dr. Caius (in his History of Cambridge) [q] says, when the tomb (or shrine in which it was inclosed) was taken down in the reign of Henry the Eighth, it was to be found made of common white stone, and not of white marble as Bede reports; and this agrees with the Saxon translation of Bede, where it is called a *ðpuh of hprum rane*. But it is probable the Saxons used marble for this purpose and for fonts. If they used it in their churches, it seems to have been in the flooring only, and that but seldom; for in common they made a sort of figured tiles, with which most of their churches were paved: nor do I find any mention of marble being used in churches, until after the Conquest in the beginning of Henry the First's reign, when the choir of Canterbury cathedral built by prior Conrad was paved with marble, and the walls which separated the choir from the porticos were composed of marble slabs [r].

WE observe but few alterations in the methods of building with stone after the reign of Henry the Third, until the in-

[p] Locellum de marmore albo pulcherrime factum. H. E. L. iv. c. 19.

[q] Lib. i. p. 8.

[r] The pillars however were not marble: for Gervais speaking of that and the present choir says, *Ibi columpna nulla marmorea, hic innumerae.*



roduction of Grecian architecture in the time of Henry the Seventh, except what the changes in Gothic architecture necessarily occasioned. But, within that period, during the wars in France and Flanders in the reigns of Edward the First and Second, wall tiles which before were made of uncertain dimensions, were now made after the Flemish manner, and often used in building walls. The lower parts of these walls, about two feet above ground, were commonly made of rag-stones laid in the common manner; but the upper parts were faced with bricks on the outside, and on the inside with soft stone, clunch, or any materials the country afforded: others were faced on both sides with half a brick thick, and the space between filled with rough stones and mortar; but the art of using bricks was not well understood by the tilers of that age; nor the proper method of bonding them according to the Flemish manner universally observed for some years after their bricks were introduced; and we often see buildings erected in the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth, where they were used in this irregular manner until they came into general use; when workmen began to use what they call the *Flemish-bond*, which is the strongest as well as the oldest regular bond used in building.

ABOUT this time it was customary to chequer the fronts of brick and stone buildings with black flints, sometimes in regular square figures, and sometimes intermixt with stone in imitation of open Gothic work. Many of these were neatly executed, and still have a tolerable good effect; as may be seen in several fine towers of churches in various parts of the kingdom, particularly in Norfolk and Suffolk, where this fashion greatly prevailed a little before the Reformation. About the year 1530 Hans Holbein built a beautiful gate opposite the banqueting house



house Whitehall in this manner, and ornamented the fronts with busts in circular recesses, with mouldings round them of baked clay in proper colours, and glazed in the manner of Delft ware.

THE brick buildings of this age may be distinguished, by being chequered with glazed bricks of a darker colour than the rest of the fronts, which were generally built with bricks of a deep red, very hard and well burnt. The window frames were sometimes of stone; but very often of bricks moulded on purpose, and covered with strong plaister or stucco imitating stone. During the reigns of queen Mary and queen Elizabeth, the ornaments of Grecian architecture, which were introduced in the time of Henry the Seventh, were frequently imitated in burnt clay; and with them they laced the fronts of their houses, and covered the shafts of their chimnies, in the same manner as those which were executed in stone on Somerset-house in the Strand. For this purpose a variety of fantastical figures were invented, in which the Grecian and Gothic ornaments were often absurdly mixt together; and in this manner they were used till the time of James the First, when they began to make plainer shafts to their chimnies, and those moulded bricks were laid aside: but in this and the preceding reign the buildings in general were badly executed, many of the walls being little better than rubbish between two thin shells of brick; and some of them were filled with small rough stones mixt with clay instead of mortar, and others with turves or peat, such as the common people use for fuel in those places where wood and coals are scarce. In the reign of Charles the First, when arts began to revive, brick buildings were tolerably well executed under the directions of Inigo Jones, though



many of his designs were executed in a manner which did no credit to that great master. But the late earl of Leicester has shewn in his fine seat at Holkham in Norfolk what beautiful buildings may be erected with bricks well made and judiciously disposed.

From this view of the various kinds of masonry used in England in different periods, it appears very difficult to determine the age of a building by the materials or method of using them, when no other circumstances concur to assist us in our judgement; especially in those buildings which were erected with new materials either before or soon after the Conquest: but as we frequently find fragments of pillars, *voussairs* of arches, and other members of Gothic architecture worked into the walls of ancient buildings, we may sometimes by their means ascertain their age very nearly, but always with more certainty when we have some assistance from records or history. But to do this we must be well acquainted with the various modes of Gothic architecture which prevailed in different ages, and be able to distinguish the fragments of one mode from another. And as the progress of this kind of architecture may be traced from its origin through its various changes, and the time in which the several modes prevailed can be nearly ascertained; we may sometimes determine the age of a building very nearly by the fragments which are found in its walls. Among the ruins of churches and other buildings which occur in all parts of this kingdom we often find large fragments by which we may not only determine the age, but frequently ascertain the form and size of the building they belonged to: for the Gothic, like the Grecian, architecture has its different orders or modes, and every order its peculiar members by which it may be



be distinguished from the rest; and as these are regulated by just proportions founded upon geometrical principles, as capable of demonstration as those of the Greek or Roman; we may judge of the whole from a part, with as much certainty as we may know the extent of a Roman temple from the length of a triglyph [5].

the Reverend Mr. Pegg. 144

[illegible]

The following is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Museum of Natural History, held on the 10th of May, 1891, at the City Hotel, New York. The names are arranged in alphabetical order.

Billions



**VIII. Observations on Kit's Cotty House, in Kent. In  
a Letter to the Honourable Daines Barrington, from  
the Reverend Mr. Pegge.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 13, 1774.

SIR,

**C**ONSIDERING that freedom of thinking on points of antiquity, and that liberty of debate, which your Society not only allows, but encourages in its members; no apology need be made for resuming the consideration of any subject of enquiry, or for dissenting from those who may have delivered their sentiments concerning it before. I flatter myself, therefore, that I shall neither give offence to the candour of the Society in general, nor to the liberal mind of your worthy treasurer, Mr. Colebrooke, in particular, if, with all deference and respect towards him, I should cause that rude and ancient Kentish monument, vulgarly called Kit's Cotty House, to pass again in review before you, and should happen to disagree with him, and others, in certain particulars concerning it.

BRITISH monuments in the county of Kent are but few in number [a]; the reason of which I take to be, first, that the

[a] Kit's Cotty House at Ailsford: the oval and circular rows of stones at Addington, first mentioned by Dr. Harris, but more fully described by Mr. Colebrooke, *Archaeolog.* II. p. 407. Perhaps Julaberr's grave at Chilham and a long gigantic barrow on the side of *Wye* down.

Britons



Britons in that tract of the island were found, on the arrival of Julius Caesar, to be more civilized than the rest [d]; and secondly, that the natives were afterwards so soon driven from those parts into the other quarters of the country; Kent, as their landing place, being one of the first districts possessed by the Romans.

HOWEVER this may be, the most remarkable of the British remains there is that rude structure in the parish of Ailsford written by Mr. Lambarde *Gitscote house* [c], and now commonly *Kit's Cotty House*. Of this monument we have several representations engraved [d], as likewise many verbal descriptions [e]; some of these last, particularly that from the pen of Mr. Colebrooke, are so minute and exact, that nothing further in that way need be required. It appears to me to have been first notified to the public by Mr. Lambarde, the famous Kentish antiquary, in the second edition of his *Perambulation of Kent*, A. D. 1596, p. 409; though Mr. Colebrooke, in his observa-

[d] "Ex his omnibus, longè sunt humanissimi, qui Cantiam incolunt; quæ regio est maritima omnis; neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine." Caesar de B. G. v. § 10.

[c] *Peramb. of Kent*, p. 409. edit. 1596. Camden writes, *Keith-Coty-house*; Stow, *Cits Cotihouse*; Philipot, *Kits-Cotehouse*; and Harris, *Kits Cotty-House*.

[d] The first, I presume, is that very bad one by Philipot, *Villare Cant.* p. 49; a second, and something better, by Dr. Harris, *Hist. of Kent*, p. 371; then an East and West front, by an anonymous author in *Gent. Mag.* 1763, p. 248; copied in the second edition of Dr. William Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 224; and lastly (not to mention the two unpublished views by Dr. Stukeley, for which see Mr. Gough's *Anecd. of Brit. Topogr.* p. 229, and which will appear in the new volume of his *Itinerary*, publishing by subscription), an accurate plate by Mr. Colebrooke, and a view by Mr. Grose.

[e] Lambarde. Camden, *Brit. col.* 230. Stow, *Chron.* p. 52. edit. 1631. Philipot, p. 48. Harris, p. 31. *Gent. Mag.* l. c. Dr. Borlase, and Mr. Colebrooke, p. 114. 116. The accounts given by the three last are by far the most minute and particular.



tions, making use only of the first edition of that work, printed in 1576, reasons sometimes from Mr. Lambarde's silence about it [f], and seems to think Mr. Camden, or Mr. Stow, was the first author that mentions it [g].

THE question is, of what nature this ancient British monument may be, and for what purpose it was originally designed? Now, Sir, our older authors in general will tell you, it is the sepulchral monument of prince Catigern, brother of king Vortimer, who was slain in battle here [b]; and so the matter stood, in the opinion of our Antiquaries, till Mr. Colebrooke arose and observed, and I think very justly, that little or nothing can be inferred from the similitude of the names, *Catigern* and *Kits-Cotty-House*, which the preceding gentlemen had chiefly grounded their notions upon: "I apprehend," says he, and one cannot but agree with him, "the name of *Kits* or *Keitbs* Cotty-house to have been given to this place from some old shepherd, who kept sheep on this plain, and used to shelter himself from the weather on one side or other of this monument; for, from whatever quarter a storm came, he might here find shelter [i]." And, thus discarding the received opinion, that Kit's Cotty House was the funeral monument of prince Catigern, he inclines to think it rather the tomb of *Horfa*, Hengist's brother, killed at the same time with prince Catigern, and that this last was interred in a circle of stones at Addington about eight miles off [k]. The Britons, he con-

[f] Archaeol. II. p. 110. 114.

[g] *Ib.* p. 115.

[b] Lambarde, Camden, Stow, Philipot, Harris. Philipot pretends, p. 48, that another such a monument was erected for *Horfa* at Horsted, in the parish of *Chatham*; but this is *gratis dictum*. See Mr. Colebrooke, p. 110.

[i] Archaeol. p. 114. See also Dr. Borlase, p. 224, where the vulgar name, *Kits Cotty-house*, is derived from *Koitten*, or *Goitten*, a quoit.

[k] Archaeol. p. 109. 113. 117.

jectures,



jestures, might retreat, after the battle, to those stones erected in an oval form at Addington, as to a place of strength [1]. But surely, whatever may become of the retreat, the oval could be no place of safety fit for the vanquished Britons to retire to.

As to the main point, the interment of prince Horfa at Kit's Cotty-house, this hypothesis appears to me extremely doubtful; since, in the first place, there are not the least footsteps, from etymology, or otherwise, to lead us to prince Horfa, except that vague and uncertain passage in Bede, "*de quibus Horfa postea occisus in bello a Britonibus, hactenus in orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne [m]*:" which is equally as applicable to Addington as to Kit's Cotty-house, though the former happens to be on the Western side of the Medway, Mr. Colebrooke himself having remarked, that the limits of E. and W. Kent were at that time different from what they are now taken to be [n]. I observe next, that, supposing Kit's Cotty-house to belong to Horfa, it instantly becomes a Saxon, instead of a British monument; which I think very material in the case, as the Saxons are not known to have used the cromlech, for their sepulchral monuments, as the Britons and the Celtae did [o]. The safest way would therefore be, to call it a cromlech, or British tomb, as apparently it is [p], and to leave the name of the person there interred undecided, and not to assign it either to Catigern or Horfa; and

[1] Compare p. 113, with p. 117.

[m] Bede, p. 53. edit. Smith.

[n] Archaeologia, p. 117.

[o] Borlase, p. 225.

[p] Compare it with those in Rowland's Mona Antiq. p. 92, seq. and in Borlase, p. 223. et seq.



indeed it is a point very problematical with me, whether this British piece of antiquity be not older than their time [y].

I HAVE hitherto called the cromlech British tombs, in compliance with the present received opinion; and in consequence thereof I have admitted Kits-Cotty-house to be of a sepulchral nature. But I hold it, nevertheless, very uncertain, whether those piles are in fact funeral monuments. Dr. Borlase, indeed, has endeavoured to shew, by some plausible arguments, that they are really such [r]; but yet that hypothesis is attended with some difficulties, as that the cromlechs are sometimes found mounted upon barrows [s], which often have a Kist-vaen, or stone coffin, a structure of a funeral nature, within them; which seems to make it very superfluous to erect a cromlech, or another of the same kind, upon the top. It is true, the doctor infers from this very incident, that the cromlech must be sepulchral [t]; but others, I imagine, will incline to conclude the contrary from it, and will think that for that reason they cannot be sepulchral. 2dly, The cromlechs are also seen raised upon rocks [u], where a dead body could not be interred; whence the probability seems to be, that these piles were rather places of devotion than of interment, as the word *cromlech* evidently imports [w]; and so were placed only casually, and not always or universally, over graves. This I find to be the opinion of Mr. Toland and others [x], and appears to be, at last, the very notion which Dr. Borlase himself had of them, when he says "That these places of burial be-

[y] See Borlase, p. 224, 225.

[s] Idem, p. 223. 227, 228, 229. 232.

[u] Idem, p. 223. 230.

[w] Idem, p. 225. Toland's works, p. 97.

[x] Idem, p. 225. Toland, p. 97.

[r] Idem, p. 226. et seq.

[t] Idem, p. 229.



“*scilicet*: afterwards the scenes of the *Parentalia*, or where  
 “*divine honours* were payed, and sacrifices performed to the  
 “*manes* of the dead, is very reasonable to believe; but these  
 “rites must have been transacted at some distance from the  
 “*cromlech*, which (as I think has been shewn) could never  
 “serve for sacrifice [y].” And again, “The *cromlech* might  
 “be, as it were, the sacred *Kibla*, to mark the place of as-  
 “sembling, and to which they were to direct their devo-  
 “tions [z].” Wherefore, if that were the case, and *crom-*  
*lechs* are not funeral monuments, one has still more reason for  
 doubting, as was stated above, whether the *cromlech* called  
 Kits-Cotty-house is the tomb either of Catigern or Horfa. The  
 late Lord Barrington has shewn, that “altars were as often  
 “memorials of God’s having appeared to the patriarchs at the  
 “place they were erected at, as for sacrifices, and that there-  
 “fore in Jacob’s case they were called *pillars*; the design of  
 “which, as is well known, is to perpetuate the memory of  
 “the thing they are set up for [a].” Again, his lordship ex-  
 pressly says [b], “The altars or pillars that were built by  
 “the Post-diluvian patriarchs *were not used for sacrifice* (unless  
 “in the extraordinary case of Abraham’s offering the ram),  
 “but to strengthen their faith and hope, and the faith and  
 “hope of after-times, when they *called on the name of the Lord*.”  
 Whence it should seem, that all Dr. Borlase’s reasoning from  
 the unsuitness of the *cromlechs* to be altars, and that therefore  
 they must of necessity be sepulchral, is not so conclusive as he  
 imagined. We are, however, highly obliged to Mr. Cole-  
 brooke for the careful personal view he has taken of this vene-

[y] Borlase, p. 229.

[z] Idem, p. 230.

[a] Lord Barrington’s Works, III. 177. second edition.

[b] P. 179.



116 **Mr. Pecke's Observations on Kit's Cotty House.**

able remain, as also for his discoveries at Addington, and the satisfactory account he has given us of the unmeaning assemblage of stones at Horsted, reputed in that neighbourhood to be Horfa's monument.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

**SAMUEL PEGGE.**



**IX. Account of a singular Discovery of a Quantity of Birds Bones buried in Christ Church Priory, Hampshire. By Gustavus Brander, Esq. In a Letter to the President.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 19, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

**H**AVING lately made a purchase of the Site of the Priory of Christ Church Twynham, in Hampshire, I was desirous of obtaining the Ichnography of that venerable ruin; and, in order thereto, had the rubbish carefully removed from the foundations. These being laid open, I have been enabled very clearly to trace out the plan and arrangement of the whole building, and to ascertain, in a great measure, the appropriation of the several principal parts, how they were disposed, and what their respective form and size; and among these, in particular, that of the Refectory. It is a room 36 feet long, by 20 wide. On the east side was a door-way, leading into an interior apartment, which measured 20 feet by 18, with two Gothic windows in it to the south. The walls here were at least 5 feet thick, and in the easternmost of the two windows was fixed a large stone, of a pentagonal figure, excavated, and perforated in the centre. Its use, I suppose, was to hold water for



for sacred or other purposes; and the hole, to draw it off, and discharge it occasionally. This room I should imagine was the Prior's private oratory. At the distance of 2 feet from the doorway, within the room, I observed a square flat stone, 2 feet 9 inches long, by 2 feet wide, carefully cemented with lead into the adjoining pavement, having all the appearance of a grave-stone. Curiosity alone tempted me to examine the contents, to see what might be the reason of such singular caution in securing them. You must conceive what was my surprize, when, on the opening, I found it to be only a repository of birds bones, to the amount, at least, of half a bushel, and these of herons, bitterns, cocks and hens, many of which have long spurs, and mostly well preserved. The cavity was about 2 feet deep, and lined at the bottom and round the sides with square stones.

My worthy friend Thomas Astle, Esq. a member of the Society, was present at the discovery. We both joined in opinion, that the singularity of the interment might help to apologize to you and the Society for the want of any other merit in the communication.

I HAVE just to add, that the foundation of this House seems to carry with it a very early date; for, according to Tanner, there was settled here, in Edward the Confessor's time, a dean and twenty-four secular canons, which were afterwards changed into regulars, of the order of St. Augustine. And I think it not improbable, from a conjecture which this interment has suggested, and seems to warrant, that it had still a much earlier one, having originally been a Pagan Temple, and afterwards converted to Christian uses.

I am, &c.



**X. *An Account of the Great Seal of Ranulph Earl of Chester; and of two ancient Inscriptions found in the Ruins of St. Edmund Bury Abbey. By Edward King, Esq. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Sec. A. S.***

**Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Jan. 26, 1775.**

**SIR,**

**John Street, Jan. 24, 1775.**

**B**Y the permission of Mr. Godbold of Bury in Suffolk, I am now enabled to lay before the Society some curious Antiquities, dug up from amongst the ruins of the ancient Abbey, at that place. These ruins being in the grounds belonging to the house wherein Mr. Godbold lives, he with great care, and much trouble, traced the foundations of the building, in such a manner, as to bring to light the true and original plan of that ancient structure, an account whereof I some time ago communicated to the Society [a]: and carrying on his researches still further, he found these remains of antiquity now to be described; two of which were taken out of the Crypt, or Undercroft; and the other from under the ancient floor, or pavement, of the Great Isle of the Church; and the latter, being the most curious, I shall endeavour to give some account of in the first place.

[a] Inserted in vol. III. p. 311.



It is an ancient seal made of lead [b]; and appears manifestly to have been the broad, or great seal of the famous Ranulph earl of Chester, who was one of the most powerful lords in England, in the time of king Stephen; and it is well preserved; and has a sort of handle to it, with an hole, whereby it might be fastened to a string, or ribband. It is ill designed; but tolerably well cut; and is a curious specimen of the un-improved and barbarous state of the arts, at that time: and it shews also very exactly, the odd kind of armour [c] then worn, and some other peculiarities in the military accoutrements of those times, which deserve notice; and particularly in the sword, the saddle, and the spurs. The armour consists merely of an helmet, not adorned with any crest, but made like a mere scull-cap, of iron, and fastened under the chin, without having any vizor for the face; and of a coat of mail, of thick quilted materials, having generally small plates of iron inclosed therein; which coat came down to the knees, and was girt close about the body. And in its hand, the figure has the great broad sword, which is known to have been the most formidable of all weapons in ancient times, and to have required great strength and skill to wield it; and continued long in the greatest repute in this country. The enormous broad sword of Edward III. still preserved in Westminster Abbey, is well known; and the sword of the Black Prince, on his tomb at Canterbury, though of lesser dimensions, is yet extremely large, and of the same kind. This weapon

[b] Mr. Worth shewed a cast of it Jan. 21, 1773.

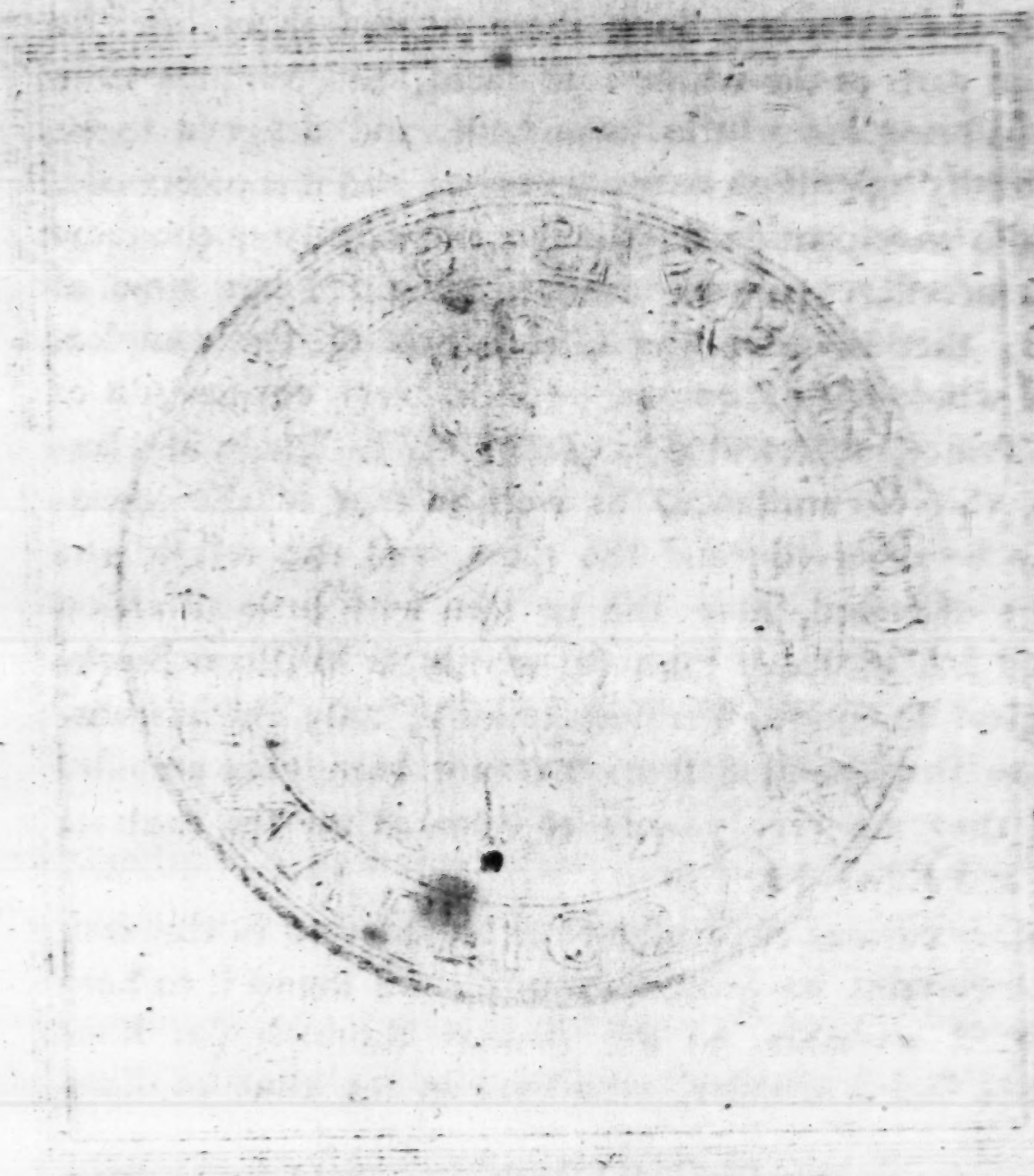
[c] Compare the seal of Louis le Jeune, king of France, contemporary with our Stephen, Montf. Mon. de la Mon. Fr. pl. 67. Earl William of Flanders' tomb. 1127, and the seal of Earl Philip 1164, 1179. in Vredii Sigilla Com. Flandriae, pl. 9 and 11. R. G.



Vol. II. Pl. N. p. 122









was used more especially in the Northern parts; and continued to be the principal one, in the Highlands of Scotland, even till within the last century. The saddle has those remarkable high pummels, both behind and before, which continued to be in use till after the time of Henry the Fifth [d]. But the vast large spurs, and exceeding long sharp-pointed shoes, are the most singular parts of the whole equipment, and were certainly considered as being not a little formidable, and designed to be used occasionally against an enemy in fight: and it is observable, that these also were continued (though not exactly in the same form) as a necessary part of armour, even till the time of Edward III; that is, after the introduction of the compleat cuirasse and whole suit of armour. In the very curious suit of the Black Prince, represented so exactly on his tomb at Canterbury [e], this circumstance, as well as that of the broadsword, may be observed; and the spurs, and the rest of the armour here described, may also be seen with little alteration on the broad seal of King John (of which Sir William Blackstone has given so curious a representation); only the circumstance of the sharp-pointed shoes has not been *there* attended to, though they are very plainly represented on the Seals of Henry III. and Edward I.

BUT another curious circumstance to be observed in this seal, and which ascertains its great antiquity, and shews it to have belonged, most probably, to the famous Ranulph (or Randolphe) fourth earl of Chester, who lived in the time of King

[d] What is shewn for Henry the Fifth's saddle in the chapel over his monument at Westminster has the same. R. G.

[e] On the German seals, the *single-pointed* spur obtained during the 13th and towards the close of the 12th century. Heinecc. Syntagma de Sigillis, p. 203. & auctores ibi citati. R. G.



Stephen, is the form of the letters that compose the inscription; for they differ less from the Roman, than those on the Great Seal of King John; and therefore shew that this inscription must, in all probability, have been prior to that reign [f]; and that this seal could not well have been of the time of Randolphe the sixth earl, who was contemporary with King John and Henry III.

ON King John's Seal, the cut of the letters in general is by no means so purely Roman as in these; and the A, especially, may be observed to be much more corrupted than in the present instance.

It is well known, that the inscriptions, about the time of the Conquest, were in such letters as might very nearly be deemed Roman capitals altogether; and that those letters continued to be used, with very little alteration, or corruption, till the time of King John; but that, in the very next reign [g] (that of Henry the Third), a great change in their form took place; and in the succeeding reign of Edward the First, the Roman letters were almost quite gone, and laid aside. It is therefore much more reasonable to conclude this seal, now under examination, to have been prior to the time of King John, than subsequent to it. And as this circumstance precludes us from supposing that it belonged to the sixth Earl of

[f] The tomb stone of Gundreda, the wife of William de Warren earl of Surrey, who was daughter to William the Conqueror (which has lately been discovered), has an inscription in letters greatly resembling those on the seal here described. She died at Castleacre in Norfolk 1085, and was buried at Lewes in Suffex.

[g] The Roman letters changed on the seals of the earls of Flanders about the beginning of the 13th century. See Vredius pl. 15; in France about the middle of the 12th, under Louis le Jeune and Philip Augustus. See Montf. pl. 67. 69. R. G.

Chester;



Chester; so, that it could hardly have been the seal of Ranulph, the third Earl of Chester [b], the father of the famous Earl, may also be inferred, from its being left concealed at St. Edmunds Bury. For, as he died in peaceful times, and was buried at Chester, it would most probably have come directly into the hands of his son, and have been either kept safely by him, or destroyed, on his making another; instead of being left carelessly in such a very remote place as Bury was: whereas if it was indeed the seal of the fourth Earl (as I take it to have been), the troubles, amidst which he ended his days, may perhaps well enough account for its having been lodged and concealed in this great monastery, as in a place of safety. And some peculiar circumstances in the life of this famous Earl, which are very curious, may perhaps moreover lead us to guess, with a good deal of probability, at the immediate cause of its being deposited in the very odd situation, in which it was found; and, at the same time, they will also serve to give us a more clear idea of the rude and barbarous manners of the age wherein this great man lived, and of the shocking want of principle, and disregard even to the most solemn oaths, that then too much prevailed.

THIS celebrated Earl was nephew to Edwin Earl of Mercia, and married a daughter of the Earl of Gloucester. Lord Lyttelton says of him, that among the English nobility none was more powerful, none of more consequence to either of the parties. And how great the dignity and grandeur of his own

[b] There were in all seven Earls of Chester, from the time of the Conquest, to the Union of the County Palatine with the crown.

1 Hugh died 1103.

5 Hugh died 1180.

2 Richard died 1119.

6 Ranulph died 1232.

3 Ranulph died 1129.

7 John died 1294.

4 Ranulph died 1156.



family was, appears from the account given by Hollinshed of the first Earl of Chelster, who was nearly related to William the Conqueror, and whose state was such, that he appointed under himself several Barons; one of whom, Nigell baron of Halton, held his barony by this remarkable service, *to lead the vauntguard of the Earl's army, when he should make any journey into Wales, so as he should be the foremost in marching into the enemy's country, and the last in coming back*; and the rest of the barons (of whom Brooke in his catalogue of nobility reckons eight) were in like manner officers under him, and dependants upon him, according to the strictest rules of the feudal system.

SUCH was the rank and greatness which this chieftain derived from his ancestors: and in consequence of such formidable power, his aid and assistance was sought for, both by Stephen, and by the empress Matilda; but, having received many favours from Stephen, he long avoided to engage with Matilda and the Earl of Gloucester, notwithstanding his intimate bond of alliance with them. At length, however, (provoked by Stephen's suddenly investing the castle of Lincoln, and endeavouring to seize it from his brother William de Raumar), the Earl of Chester, who was there at the very time of Stephen's attempt, and escaped out of the castle with great difficulty, went directly into Cheshire, and raised all his vassals, and even drew to his banner some of the neighbouring Welsh; and having declared for the Earl of Gloucester, and being joined by him, marched directly to the relief of Lincoln castle, and fought that memorable battle, in the year 1141, wherein king Stephen was taken prisoner. And the Earl of Chester's behaviour, in that action, was also the immediate cause of the king's being taken. For Stephen's phalanx remained invincible,



vincible, till the Earl of Chester, dismounting, and ordering all his cavalry likewise to dismount, broke in, by the weight and strength of those heavy-armed troops, and pressed hard upon the king. Stephen bravely defended himself in the midst of his enemies, and struck the Earl a dreadful blow upon his helmet, and overthrew him to the ground, deprived of his senses; but at last, the King's battle-axe being broken, he was obliged to surrender.

STEPHEN was soon set at liberty again, in exchange for the Earl of Gloucester, who was also taken prisoner the same year. And afterwards, in 1145, the Earl of Chester was once more reconciled to him. For after he had just been discovering fresh marks of a greater animosity against the King than ever; on the Earl of Gloucester's meeting with some very bad success, which discouraged all his party, Ranulph, without hesitation, came as a suppliant to Stephen, and expressing great sorrow for what he had done to offend him, obtained his pardon, and was received into favour, and then distinguished himself by as great and uncommon zeal in the king's service, as he had before shewn against him.

THIS reconciliation, however, did not continue any long time; for mean suspicions, and jealousies on the king's part, fomented by those whose interest it was to do so, at last induced him to suffer the Earl of Chester to be arrested, and ignominiously thrown into a dungeon, and to be loaded with irons, which transaction happened during the holding of a great council at Northampton, in 1147; after which, in order to recover his liberty, the Earl yielded to several most unjust demands of the King, and gave hostages, and took an oath to the King, that he would not make war against him.

No



No sooner, however, was he released, than the very first act he did was to attack Stephen with great fury; either considering his oath as constrained and therefore void; or being (as Lord Lyttelton observes) hardened to perjury, by the mode of the times, and paying no regard to it [1]; neither was he stopped by any concern for the hostages he had given, whose lives were at stake. Several times he fought with the King; and defeated, and even wounded him in one action. And this opposition he continued for some time, with great fury; and when beaten himself, was still unsubdued; his vassals being so numerous, his castles so strong, and his power so diffused, that if he was driven away from one part of the kingdom, he presently appeared with new force in another.

[1] Lord Lyttelton gives several proofs of the horrid perjuries of those times; and mentions one most astonishing instance of premeditated perjury, committed avowedly, in the reign of Henry II. by the famous archbishop Becket, who seems not to have thought it a matter of any great reproach. This prelate, previous to his giving his assent to the constitutions of Clarendon, told the rest of the bishops then assembled, *It is my master's pleasure that I should forswear myself, and at present I submit to it, and do resolve to incur a perjury, and repent afterwards as I may;* and accordingly he went to the King and barons assembled in parliament, and swore, *in the word of truth, that he would observe those constitutions, in good faith and without deceit.* But he soon kept his word, in being guilty of perjury, and paying no regard to this oath. See Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. vol. ii. p. 356. And the strange evasions that some great men have thought of to avoid the obligations of their oaths, in barbarous ages, are no less remarkable, than the perjuries themselves. Henault tells us, that Robert king of France, who lived about 1026, in order to prevent his subjects from being perjured, on occasion of taking a certain oath, caused them to swear on a shrine, out of which the relics had been carefully taken. And the same author informs us, that (even so late as 1483) Lewis the Eleventh took care never to swear by the cross of St. Lo. because it was the general opinion of those times, that those who perjured themselves, after swearing by that cross, died within the year. *Abrégé de l'Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 142. 389.



THE last act, however, of this unfortunate Earl shews still more strongly, both the spirit of the times, and his character. For having entered finally into strong engagements with Henry II. in Scotland, yet, notwithstanding these, and the bitter rancour of his heart against Stephen, he would not declare for Henry, in consequence of them, till by a covenant, in the form of a charter, which is still extant, Henry had granted to him the city and county of Stafford, Nottingham castle, Derby, and many great baronies, then actually in the possession of other persons; and of some of which the grants were conditional, if those persons would not join the party of Henry, or should forfeit their possessions. Among the rest was a grant of the lands of one William de Peverell, *unless the said William could acquit himself of his wickedness and treason, by a fair trial in a court of justice.* And this last unlucky grant was the cause of the Earl of Chester's death, soon after, in 1153; for William de Peverell, unwilling, after this grant, to run the risk of being acquitted in *the said court of justice*, contrived to poison the Earl, before any trial was had. The charter abovementioned was signed and sealed at the Devizes, in Wiltshire; and is extant in Dugdale's Baronage, and Rymer's Foedera; and Dugdale informs us, that the Earl of Chester was buried near his father, in the chapter house of the abbey of St. Werburge at Chester.

To these anecdotes relating to the Earl of Chester, and his strange conduct in life, it ought to be added, that the greatness of his adversary King Stephen fell about the same time that he died; and that it received a fatal blow, by the death of prince Eustace, Stephen's son; who, it is very remarkable, died just before the Earl of Chester, of a violent fever, which he caught in the very act of burning and ravaging the country round *St. Edmunds Bury*, out of resentment against the monks of that monastery.



monastery, for refusing him a supply of money and provisions. And now, if we put all these circumstances together; and consider, that the animosity subsisting between prince Eustace and the monks of Bury plainly shews them to have been most adverse to Stephen, and of the Earl's party; and that the earl (whose power and possessions extended throughout the whole kingdom) can hardly be supposed not to have been connected with the monks of Bury, who took the same part as he generally did; and the side to which, it is plain, he always had the most cordial attachment; and if we still further consider, that monasteries were, in those barbarous times, esteemed as the most sacred places, and therefore the most secure; and that this monastery was one of the chief, and greatest, in the whole kingdom; and that Robert, natural son of the first Earl of Chester had been abbot thereof seven years and deposed 1102 [k]: it will, I think, appear very probable, that this broad seal was lodged there in the midst of those troubles, as in a place of security: and that, during some of the reverses of fortune which the Earl of Chester met with, it was hid and concealed under the pavement of the great Isle of the church, from whence it was never afterwards taken till now; being forgotten in the confusion of those times, after the Earl's death; and the person who hid it very probably dying without giving any account of it.

AND the place where this seal was found, renders this conjecture very probable; for it was dug up just under where the stones of the pavement must have been, and was placed so that there was not the least appearance of its ever having been deposited in any coffin, or near the place of interment of any corpse whatever, or under any tomb.

[k] Earl Ranulph was son of the sister of Hugh, who was father of the abbot of Bury, and died 1101. Dugdale's Baron. I. 34—37.



BESIDES this seal, Mr. Godbold discovered also two very curious fragments of inscriptions; which are the two other antiquities that I now lay before the Society.

THE first of them is remarkable on account of the substance on which it is inscribed, and the form of the letters. They are raised, in a very bold relief; and instead of being cut, or carved, were manifestly cast, together with the whole mass, in a kind of clay, and were afterwards burnt with it, in the same manner as tiles are.

FROM the form of the letters (they being so exactly like the Roman) I should judge them to be of very great antiquity: for it is well remarked by Mr. Bentham, in his curious history of Ely Cathedral, that the purity of the Roman capitals began very early to be corrupted by the Saxon; and these letters very much resemble those of the famous inscription, which he says must be older by 200 years than that of Peterborough, which is of the year 870. I do not mean, however, to infer that this fragment (though very ancient) is of any such date: for I cannot but remark here, that although the Roman letters were so soon changed for the Saxon, in common use, yet they seem still to have been preserved on some certain occasions, as a more venerable and solemn character, for a considerable time longer; and (as I observed before) appear on the broad seal of King John, as well as on that of the Earl of Chester, without much alteration. And it is most remarkable, that the only letters of a Saxon cast on the seal of Ranulph are the E and G: and the E is also of a Saxon cast, just in like manner, even in the Ely inscription.

THE other fragment, which is larger, and remarkable on account of the person to whom it relates, is of a coarse, soft stone;



and very probably a part of the tomb of the famous Poet Lydgate, or Lydgate, whose name is very legible on it. He was a monk of this monastery in the time of Henry VI. and wrote many learned books, both in English and Latin, in prose and verse; and was esteemed a good mathematician and philosopher, as well as an excellent poet. He died in 1433: and both Weever and Willis mention his being buried in this church: and therefore this inscription, which was dug out of the crypt, and has his name upon it, may with great appearance of probability be supposed a part of his tomb; as we know of no other considerable person, to whom it could belong. Yet, if it was so, it shews that neither the epitaph given in Latin by Weever, nor the old English translation of it, were the whole of the inscription placed thereon, if they were any part of it: and indeed it is very probable that they never were either: as Weever seems to relate what he says about the epitaph with some doubt and hesitation, as to its having been really engraved on the tomb; and speaks of that fact only on common report. Certain it is, that this inscription cannot be made to agree with any part of the epitaph before mentioned, and on that account it deserves some attention. But I cannot pretend to give any further explanation of it, and must leave it subject to such conjectures as any one, on inspection of the fragment, shall find reason to form; only, as it has certainly the name of Lydgate inscribed, I thought it not quite unworthy to be laid before the society.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

EDWARD KING.

P.S. The

VI. 30 V



[To face Page 130]

WILLIAM  
the  
first  
king  
of  
england





WITNESSETH THAT THE  
SAYED CHURCH OF ST. MARY  
OF ST. MARY OF ST. MARY  
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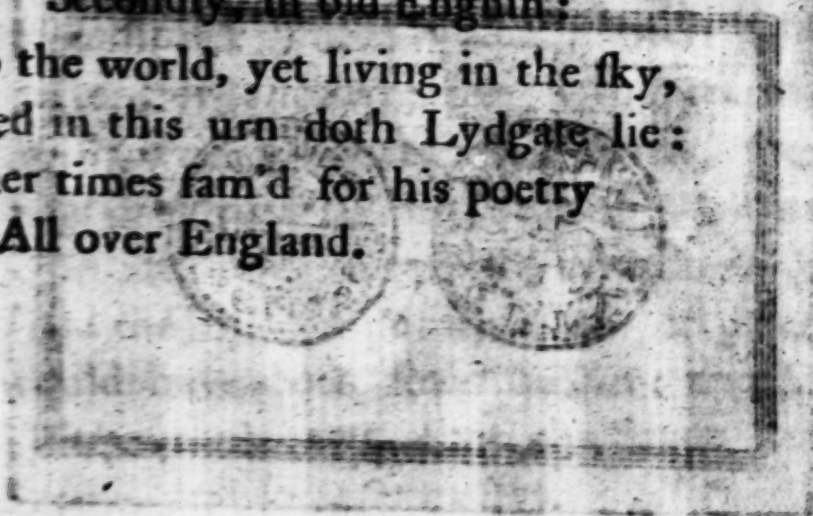
P. S. The two epitaphs I mentioned are,

First, in Latin:

Mortuus seculo, superis superstes,  
Hic jacet Lidgat tumulatus urna:  
Qui fuit quondam celebris Britanne  
Fama Poësis.

Secondly, in old English:

Dead to the world, yet living in the sky,  
Intombed in this urn doth Lydgate lie:  
In former times fam'd for his poetry  
All over England.



Read at the Society of Antiquaries, March 9, 1773.

REV. SIR,

A copy of the tables of English silver coins published by the Society of Antiquaries, which contain a late description of several pieces, with their legends and devices on the reverse; and as there are some in the first and second plate which are truly difficult, an elucidation of some of the inscriptions, and a note of those times, and their in which they were struck, though too long for a note to have been inserted at the bottom of the page, may be matter of entertainment to those gentlemen who collect our English coins. I have the following particulars which in some point out the occasions on which these coins were struck.

S 2

XI. Ob.



**XI. *Observations on a Coin of Robert Earl of Gloucester, addressed to the President. By Mr. Colebrook.***



Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 9, 1775.

REV. SIR,

**A**S the tables of English silver coins published by the Society contain little more than a bare description of the several pieces, with their legends and devices on the reverse; and as there are some in the first and second plate which are truly historical; an elucidation of these from the historians who wrote of those times, and lived in or near them (though thought too long for a note to have been inserted at the bottom of the page), may be matter of entertainment to those gentlemen who collect our English coins. I hope the following particulars will in some measure point out the occasions on which these coins were struck.

As



As to the coin of Rodbertus, given to the eldest son of the Conqueror, I always thought it was a mistake, and told our late worthy director Dr. Ward my opinion long before the plates were published. Had it been coined by duke Robert, it must have been in the life-time of one of his brothers; and, as he thought them usurpers of his right, he would have asserted it, and called himself *Rex*, and not *Dux*. As to the letters being misplaced on this and many other coins, there was nothing more common than for the minters of that time to mistake one letter for another; for on the coins of the First and Second William it is sometimes *Willemus*, sometimes only *Willem*. In one of Henry the First the E is left out; and it is *HNRIC*. So on Stephen's, it is *Stie*; on others, *Stef*. In this of Rodbertus had the *D* been put in its proper place, and the *T* left out, it would have been *Roberdus dux*; and Mr. Selden in his *Titles of Honour* observes, that the Saxon Earl was sometimes termed *comes*, and sometimes *dux*.

As reading, and even the knowledge of one letter from another, was known to so very few at that time, what little literature there was being confined to monasteries, it is no great wonder that the minters should punch one letter on the die instead of another, or fill up the vacancy in the circle round the head with devices of their own, their business being to put a circle of some sort round the head.

EVEN our kings and nobles were so little accustomed to writing or reading, that they only made the mark of a cross (where they did not put their seals) to charters and deeds; and the writers (who were a particular set of people, and called writers of the court letter at that time) wrote each man's name opposite the mark or cross that he made. In those antient deeds,



concluding with *his testibus*, the names of the witnesses are in the same hand-writing as the body of the deed. The manner of doing this may be seen in Dugdale's Monasticon.

I HAVE been a little particular in relating the manner by which Roberd became earl of Gloucester, as it shews the artifice of the lady to get a title for herself and her descendants, and also is a specimen of the language spoken in the time of Henry the First.

WHAT relates to the duke's penny, viz. Henry II. before he was adopted by Stephen, I have from Roger Hoveden, an historian who lived at that time, and, according to bishop Nicolson, was an author of veracity.

IN 1077 Robert eldest son of William the Conqueror, who was duke or regent of Normandy, took arms against his father, and won a battle, in which William would have been slain, had not Robert happened to discover him, and know him, and therefore submitted himself to him, and was by him brought into England, and sent with an army into Scotland; but, peace being soon concluded between the English and Scotch, Robert returned to Normandy.

IN 1087 William died, and by his will left Normandy to Robert; and Rufus took the crown of England. In 1088 Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, endeavoured to raise a rebellion, to dethrone Rufus, and make Robert king; but he did not succeed; and I do not find that Robert came into England on that occasion.

IN 1100 Rufus was killed in the New Forest; and, Robert being then in the Holy Land, Henry seized the crown.

IN 1101 Robert came into England; and a treaty was concluded between him and Henry; and, upon condition of an annual stipend to be paid him, Robert returned to Normandy: but,



but, whether he was unquiet there, or whether Henry's ambition made him desirous to add Normandy to his other dominions, he made war against Robert, took him prisoner, and confined him in Cardiffe castle in Wales, where he lived twenty-six years, and died before Henry.

By the above account, it seems evident that Robert duke of Normandy had no opportunity of coining any money in England; neither was the style of this coin (if I may apply that expression to money) in use at the time he lived, but much later. Robert died in 1133, two years before Henry, who died in 1135, and left the care of his daughter Matilda's right to the crown to his natural son Robert, whom upon a particular occasion he had made earl of Gloucester. The occasion was this: Sir Robert le Fitz Haimon, a man of great possessions in Gloucestershire, left an only daughter, heiress to all his fortune, who was called Mabile. Henry, desirous to provide for his natural son, solicited this lady to marry him; but, she refusing to marry a husband that had not two names, he created Robert earl of Gloucester to him and his heirs: upon which she married him; and by her possessions he became very considerable.

Mr. Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, part II. p. 229, of the London edition, 1614, gives the conversation between the king and this lady touching this marriage, in monkish rhyme, and says the MS. he had it from was not published at that time; but it was from Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* published in 1724 by Thomas Hearne, the Oxford antiquary, and is as follows:

He fede heo ffolde hys sone to hyre spouse<sup>1</sup> anonge,  
This mayde was ther agen and with fyde yt longe,

<sup>2</sup> Soon.

The



The King of foght hyre fuithe <sup>2</sup> ynon that attenende,  
 Mabile him answerede as gode mayde & <sup>3</sup> hende,  
 Sire heo fyde wel y cot that youre herte up me ys,  
 More vor myne eritage than vor my <sup>4</sup> fulue <sup>5</sup> ywis,  
 So vair eritage as ych abbe, yt were me gret fame,  
 Vor to abbe an Loverd, bote he adde an tu name,  
 S<sup>r</sup> Roberd le Fyts Haim mi fader was,  
 And that ne myghte <sup>6</sup> nogt be hys that of his <sup>7</sup> kunne nogt nas,  
 Therefore Syre vor Godes love, ne let me non mon owe,  
 Bote he abbe an tuo name <sup>8</sup> warthoru he be yknowe,  
 Damoysele, quoth the king, thou feyest wel in thys cas;  
 S<sup>r</sup> Robert le Fitz Haim thy fader's name was,  
 An as vair name he fsal abbe <sup>9</sup> gyf me hym may byse,  
 Syre Roberd le Fytz Roy ys name fsal be,  
 Syre quoth this mayde tho that ys a vayr name,  
 As wo feyth all hys lyf and of grete fame,  
 Ac wat fsolde hys sone <sup>10</sup> hote thanne, and other that of hym  
 come;  
 So ne mygte hij hote <sup>11</sup> noght thereof nymeth gome.  
 The King understood that the mayde ne feyde non outrage,  
 And that Glocester was chef of hyre eritage,  
 Damafie, he feyde tho, thy Loverd fsal abbe an name,  
 Vor him & vor hys eyrs, vayr without blame,  
 Vor Roberd Erl of Glocestre hys name fsal be and ys,  
 Vor he fsal be Erl of Glocestre and ys eyrs ywys.  
 Sire quoth the Mayde tho wel lyketh me thys,  
 In this fourme <sup>12</sup> ychole that al my thing be hys,  
 Thus was Erl of Glocestre vorst ymade there,  
 Ac this Roberd of alle <sup>13</sup> thulke that lange byvore were

<sup>2</sup> very often<sup>3</sup> civil<sup>4</sup> self<sup>5</sup> certainly<sup>6</sup> not<sup>7</sup> kindred<sup>8</sup> by which he may be known<sup>9</sup> will take care to give him<sup>10</sup> have<sup>11</sup> no name to be called by<sup>12</sup> I am willing<sup>13</sup> them

Thys



Thys was enlene Hundredger & in the ger ryght

After that our Lorde was in hys moder alyght.

ON Stephen's assuming the crown after the death of Henry (1135), the earl of Gloucester was one of the first that swore fealty to him; but, whether he was refused any thing he asked for, or thought himself not sufficiently taken notice of by Stephen, he took arms in behalf of the empress Maud, who was Henry's daughter, and began that civil war which lasted for the greatest part of Stephen's reign. Robert, by his possessions in right of his wife, had great power; and, being brother to Maud, was the properest person to be made her general. Stephen was taken prisoner in a battle fought at or near Lincoln, and was sent to Bristol castle, and there confined; so that Maud's competitor could give her no trouble at that time. When she came to London, she behaved with so much insolence, that the Londoners would not let her be crowned. The sovereign power at this time lay as it were dormant, Stephen being in prison; and Maud, not crowned, could not properly exercise that act of sovereignty, coinage, which is one of the first acts of regal power princes are fond of, because it certainly transmits their name to the next generation, if not to posterity in general; and I never heard or read of any money coined by Maud. There were at this time two armies in the kingdom, one headed by Robert, the other by Eustace, both of which must be paid; and the currency of money at that time was so small, that the prelates [a], earls, and barons, took upon them to coin their own money, according to Hoveden. This will rationally account for this coin having been struck by Robert earl of Gloucester. The name

[a] N° 21, plate I. of the Society's tables, is a coin of Henry bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother; on which he is represented with the pastoral staff in his hand, the legend HENRICVS EPC.; on the reverse are the arms of Winchester, with STEPHANVS REX.



Rodbertus on this penny seems to be owing to a mistake in punching the letters on the die; the usual way of spelling at that time being Roberdus and not Rodbertus, for so Hoveden and Robert of Gloucester spell it. I therefore make no doubt but this penny was struck by him, for I do not find any Robert duke of Normandy; and if it had been struck in Scotland, the word Rex would have followed Robertus. It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the minters made a part of the king's equipage when he travelled, for there was not money enough in the kingdom to make so many mints necessary as we find on our early coins; and the devices on the reverse of this, and that of Eustace, might equally suit any place they wanted to coin money at: the reverse of this coin, and that of Eustace, Plate ii. N<sup>o</sup> 1, are alike.

ROBERT was taken prisoner in a battle fought near Winchester, and was exchanged for Stephen; who, being at liberty in the year 1152, convened Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops at Winchester, and would have had them crown his son Eustace; but they refused to do it, alledging, that the Pope had forbid them to acknowledge Eustace, because Stephen had seized the crown contrary to his oath to Henry, on which Stephen and Eustace, being both angry, committed them all to prison, and seized their estates; but soon after released them, and restored their estates [b].

A REASON why Stephen was desirous of having his son crowned, was, he hoped by this means to secure it to him, and disappoint Henry, son of the empress Maud, and the Earl of Anjou, and was the first of the Plantagenets. He claimed the kingdom of England in right of his mother, and was come over with a great army, and had gained many castles, and strong holds, and coined money, which was called the Duke's

[b] Scriptores post Bedam, Henry of Huntingdon, p. 227.



money [c], the legend HENRICVS REX, which he thought himself *de jure*; but Stephen being king *de facto*, he did not put the crown on this money, the ceremony of unction and coronation being (as I suppose) thought absolutely necessary to constitute a king.

Soon after he came, he forbad the prelates and nobles coining any more money; the passage in Hoveden is, "Henricus Dux Normanniae venit in Angliam cum magno exercitu, & red-  
" dita ei castella multa, & munitiones quamplures, & fecit mo-  
" netam novam, quam vocabant monetam ducis; & non tantum  
" ipse, sed omnes potentes, tam episcopi, quam comites & ba-  
" rones, suam faciebant monetam, sed ex quo dux ille venit  
" plurimorum monetam cassavit [d]."

IN 1153 [e] a truce was made between Stephen and Henry at Wallingford, which was followed by a treaty of peace concluded at Winchester, by which (Eustace being dead) Stephen adopted Henry for his heir to the crown. This was afterward confirmed by a parliament held at Oxford on the feast of St. Hilary, viz. January the 20th, at which time the prelates and nobles swore fealty to Henry [f].

HENRY seems always to have had a regard to the currency of money; for in this treaty, by the eleventh article, it was agreed, that only one species of silver coin should be current throughout the land, which most likely gave occasion for that piece being struck whereon Stephen and Henry are represented

[c] Society of Antiquaries Coins, pl. ii. No 7. a young face, with long hair; over the head three fleurs-de-lis instead of a crown, a scepter in his right hand, and three annulets engrailed before the face. It is most likely that Henry brought a minter with him who struck this coin, it being more elegant and in a better taste than any of the preceding or subsequent reigns.

[d] Hoveden, p. 281.

[e] Speed, p. 481. Math. Paris, p. 72. Polydore Vergil, p. 200.

[f] See this treaty in Hollinshed, vol. iii. p. 61.



in armour holding a spear between them in token of peace, plate ii. N° 3, the legend of which is *STIE ENER*, most probably for Stephanus and Henricus. The reverse of this has as rude devices as those on the coins of Eustace and Rodbert.

HENRY in his second year made a new coinage, as Hoveden says, p. 282, "*Novam fecit monetam, quae sola recepta erat et accepta in regno.*"

AGAIN, in the 26th year of his reign, he says, "*Henricus rex pater novam fecit monetam in Anglia, & monetarios redemit propter corruptionem veteris monetae.*" *Monetarios redemit* I translate *hired new minters*, because the old ones had debased the coin. I do not think this passage in Hoveden amounts to making indentures with the minters, there certainly being no fixed place for a mint at that time; for my late worthy friend Mr. Folkes, who made the most diligent enquiry into all the records which related to coinage, mentions none earlier than the 6th of Henry III. by which he ordered pennys, half-pennys, and farthings, to be coined, but doth not say it was by indenture with the moneyers.

THE first indenture he mentions to be made with the master or worker of the mint, is in the 27th year of Edward III. viz. 1356, which was the first year of his coining groats and half-groats. From that time indentures seem to have been made with the masters of the mint, except in troublesome times when the disputes between the houses of York and Lancaster made two kings at the same time, as Richard II. Henry IV. Henry VI. and Edward IV. during which there could be no fixed place for mintage, but they carried their puncheons or hammers from one place to another. I have seen a coin of Edward IV. with a B on the breast for Bristol, and the reverse hath been *CIVITAS LONDON.*

I SHALL



I SHALL here take occasion to mention a different reason for the sameness of the head on all our coins from Edward I. to Henry VII. from what my much honoured friend Mr. Folkes assigns for it; viz. that the king should always appear as in full vigour of life.

EDWARD the First introduced on his pennies the face of a man, with curled hair; whereas his immediate predecessors Henry III. and John, had somewhat more like the moon at the full (as painted for a sign to a country alehouse) than any human being.

THE method of making the dies for money, is to make a likeness of the face and head in soft steel, in the manner of a Cameo, which when they had finished, they hardened to the utmost degree the metal would bear. This, by the force of the hammer, made an intaglio on soft steel, in the centre of the die, and the letter or devices were punched in, and then the die was hardened sufficiently to give the impression on the silver to be coined, but was not made so hard as the Cameo. But as these dies were liable to be split under the hammer, as ours are under the mill and screw, the pains and expence of renewing the Cameo would have been endless; and therefore, having got an head for each species of money, they used the same through all these reigns, and only punched in a different legend, and made some little alteration in the tressure round it.

If you think these papers worthy the notice of the Society, you will please to communicate them; if too trifling, to suppress them; and believe me to be,

With great respect,

Your very humble servant,

JOSIAH COLEBROOK.

Budge Row, Feb. 14,

1775.



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**XII. On the Origin of the Word Romance; by the  
Rev. Mr. Drake. In a Letter to the Secretary.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 1, 1774.

SIR,

**T**HE literary world is much indebted to the ingenious Mr. Warton for his valuable history of English poetry. It is indeed an acquisition in that branch of learning so happily instructive as well as amusing, that it must have its admirers, whilst an elegance of taste remains among us. However, with the utmost deference to so superior a genius, I cannot help thinking, that, though that species of writing, called Romance, is the principal object of his book, he is very much mistaken as to the origin of that word. He makes it wholly of French extraction, mentions it as such in various parts of his work, and, in one place particularly, makes it synonymous with the French language. The communication of the Armoricans with the Cornish, says he, contributed to give a roughness to the Romance or French tongue. This opinion also he endeavours to illustrate, by introducing in a note this passage from his brother's Essay upon Pope. The Latin tongue ceased to be spoken in France about the ninth century, and was succeeded by what



what was called the Romance tongue, a mixture of Frankish and bad Latin. Hence the first poems in that language were called *Romans*. The ingenious editor of the Reliques of ancient English poetry had made the same quotation before him; and he also concludes, that the Romances of Chivalry were first composed in France, from whence, adds he, they had their name. Notwithstanding such respectable authorities, I think, it will not be difficult to prove, that this word *Romance* is not of French, but of Spanish original; which, if you will give me leave, Sir, I will endeavour to do.

THE Spanish language, in the early part of their history, was a mixture of Celtic, Egyptian, Phoenician, and Punic; for all these different people had frequent intercourse with that country, and some of them long residence in it. The Romans were called into Spain soon after they attempted to carry their arms out of Italy about the year of the city 530; and from that time till their total expulsion by the Goths in the reign of Honorius, which is a period of eight hundred years, they were in some degree inhabitants of that kingdom. When we consider the numerous armies, which were sent over from Italy in the Punic, Sertorian, and civil wars, and reflect upon the infinite multitude of Roman citizens, the government of the province, or the pursuit of commerce, must necessarily introduce into Spain; we must suppose that the original language of the country must gradually wear away, and be at last totally absorbed in the Roman. For it was an established maxim with those masters of the world, to communicate their tongue to every people that had the misfortune to fall under their yoke. By these means the whole province were habituated to speak the Latin as their mother tongue, except a few of the ancient inhabitants who retired into the wild and mountainous countries where



where they and their dialect remain unmolested. It was at this interval that Spain produced some of our later classic authors: both the Senecas, Silius Italicus, Martial, Quintilian, Lucan, Mela, and Columella, being the natives of this country, who seemed to have rivaled Rome itself in the purity and elegance of their diction. The Spanish language thus became totally Roman, nor did the irruptions of the Goths and Vandals affect it in any material manner; they somewhat corrupted it indeed, but it still continued radically and essentially the same. It was in this situation, when the Moors from the coast of Barbary made their famous settlement in that kingdom, and erected so many principalities on the southern part of the country. The Arabians carried with them their religion, language, and manners; and having little connection with the natives but what was of a hostile and military nature, they preserved them for many centuries pure and uncorrupted. Upon this establishment of the Moors in Spain, we now perceive two languages prevailing through that kingdom, the original Roman or Latin, and the Arabic introduced by these new inhabitants. Hence what was written or spoken in the first of those tongues, was called Roman or Latin; and what was uttered or appeared in the latter, Moorish or Arabic.

Here we have the certain origin of the word *Romans* made use of in its primary signification, as a contradistinction to the Arabic. And that this distinction between these two particular languages was retained in Spain at all periods, even down to the time of Cervantes, we have a remarkable passage in that author to confirm. When the Spanish captive is relating his story, and to the company that was assembled about Don Quixote at the inn; he tells them, a Moorish lady falling in love with him, conveyed



conveyed to him a letter, which not understanding, as it was written in Arabic, he procured a renegado to interpret it to him; who translated it verbatim into the Spanish language, and finished his explanation in these words, "Todo lo que va aqui en Romance sin faltar letra, es lo que contiene este papel Morisco." "All that," says he, "which I have now translated to you into Spanish, without altering a single letter, is that which this Moorish paper contains." You may here observe, Sir, that the word in the original *Romance* is used as synonymous with the Spanish tongue, and in opposition to the *papel Morisco*, the letter written in the Arabic one. In further confirmation of this point, we may appeal to the learned Jesuit Mariana; who, in his excellent history of Spain, tells us, that the Castilian tongue was called Romance, and assigns this reason for it, because it has so great an affinity with the Latin, even infinitely more than the Italian can boast of. "Lengua Castellana compuesta en particular de la Latina corrupta, de que es argumento el nombre que tiene, porque tambien se llama Romance." "The Castilian language is composed principally of corrupted Latin, of which its name is an argument, for it is called *Romance*." In another part of his history, the same author informs us from the authority of Strabo, that there were so many Roman colonies settled in Spain, that the natives, by the communication and intercourse they had with them, entirely lost the use of their own language, and adopted that of the Romans instead of it. Give me leave to give you the original words of the historian: "Por toda España se fundaron muchas colonias de Romanos, con cuya comunicacion y trato los Naturales mudaron sus costumbres antiguas y su Lengua y la trocaron con La los Romanos, segun que Estrabon lo testifica." Which may be thus translated. "Through all Spain were founded many colonies of Romans, by the communication

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“munication of which the natives changed their ancient man-  
 “ners and language, and assumed those of the Romans, as  
 “Strabo assures us [a].” De Thringi, an excellent French  
 grammarian, who wrote in the last century, in his treatise upon  
 the Spanish tongue, expresses himself much in the same manner:  
 “Voila la succession des nations qui ont donné lieu à la langue  
 “des Espagnols, laquelle tient toujours néanmoins beaucoup  
 “plus de la Romaine que d’aucun autre—d’où vient que par-  
 “my eux parler Roman veut dire parler la langue vulgare.”  
 Upon this principle, the learned Aldrete intitles his curious per-  
 formance, “Del origin y principio de la lengua Castellana o  
 “Romance.” And indeed, if we attentively examine the Cas-  
 tilian language in its present situation, and have judgement suf-  
 ficient to separate from it the Moorish words and expressions,  
 which are very copiously scattered among it, some Gothic, a  
 Punic one or two, with a few Gallicisms, we shall plainly dis-  
 tinguish, that the remains will be nothing more than a some-  
 what corrupted dialect of the Latin.

THE word, and the source it was drawn from, being thus  
 established, it will be easy, I apprehend, to account for its in-  
 troduction into France; and how that people came to adopt it  
 for that kind of writing, which they, as well as ourselves, at  
 this day call Romance. It is natural to suppose, that, as the  
 Saracens came over enriched with various sorts of learning,  
 some ingenious men among them soon acquiring the language,  
 where they immigrated, translated their own authors into  
 Spanish or Romance, particularly those amusing and fictitious  
 compositions so peculiar to that people; which, being embel-  
 lished with all the pomp of diction, and luxuriance of imagery,

[a] The passage in Strabo, which the historian alludes to, seems to be this—  
 Ὁ δὲ Τουρδιστάνος τελευτῶς εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβηκεν τρόπον, οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς  
 αἰτίας ἔτι μνησθέντα. Δοτῆναι τὸ οἱ πλείους γράσανται.



made an early impression upon the natives; who, though not capable of conceiving the abstruser branches of Arabian knowledge, eagerly caught up this, and universally received it. These translations in the Roman or Latin tongue, the Saracens soon carried over the Pyrenees; for, very shortly after their admission into Spain, they became masters of Languedoc, Guenne, and Poictou; and the French, meeting with performances so coincident with the liveliness of their imagination, embraced them with avidity; and from reading them with delight, naturally grew desirous of imitating them. Hence this mode of composition prevailed early and generally among them; and as the originals they copied after were the fictitious tales of the Arabians, translated into the Roman language, they adopted the name *Romance* for their works of this sort, and transmitted it to their posterity.

And that this method of writing called the *Romance* prevailed in Spain before it appeared in France, though Dr. Percy has asserted the contrary, seems pretty certain from some parts of Mr. Warton's own performance. One of the very first of the French *Romances*, which was Archbishop Turpin's history of Charlemagne and his twelve peers, that gentleman tells us, a very learned critic, to whom he seems to pay very great deference, supposes to be the work of a Spaniard, and, with the greatest probability, subjoins the author. He further adds, that the same critic quotes an authentic manuscript to prove, that that work was brought out of Spain into France before the close of the twelfth century; and that the miraculous exploits performed in Spain by Charlemagne and Earl Roland, recorded in this Romantic history, were unknown among the French before that period. The supposition, concludes he, that this history was compiled in Spain, the centre of Oriental fabling in Europe, at once accounts for the nature and extravagance of its  
fictions,



fiction, and immediately points to their Arabian origin. In other places he informs us, that some critics have supposed, that Spain, having learned the art or fashion of Romance-writing from their naturalized guests, the Arabians, communicated it at an early period to the rest of Europe. If then Mr. Warton will acknowledge, that the earliest Romances extant were Spanish productions, that Spain was the centre of oriental fiction in Europe, and that Romance-writing, acquired from the Saracens, was communicated at an early period by the Spaniards to the rest of Europe; where must we look for this word *Romance*, but in the country where I have placed it? To this let me add, that the learned Dr. Hurd very judiciously assigns an Arabian origin to that spirit of Romantic chivalry, with which the Spaniards above all the Europeans were infected. This fanaticism, says that gentleman, was especially instigated and kept alive by the neighbourhood of their infidel invaders, the Arabians.

THESE, Sir, are my sentiments upon a subject which perhaps may appear trivial and uninteresting; yet, if tracing words up to their primitive source may seem to require the attention of the antiquary, I may probably be excused for giving the Society this trouble; but, above all things, I must beg of you, not to look upon these few imperfect strictures as any attempt to derogate from the justly established merits of Mr. Warton, whose character I venerate, and whose learning and truly elegant taste I admire.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

Fellied, Nov. 25,

1774.

W. DRAKE.



**XIII. Some Observations on Lincoln Cathedral. By****Mr. James Essex.****Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 16, 1775.**

**I**F the principles of Gothic architecture are now but little known, the various styles of building, which come under the denomination of Gothic, are pretty well ascertained; and as the first, if well understood and properly applied, would be useful to modern professors of architecture; so the latter may be usefully applied, by the lovers of antiquities, to illustrate or correct the different historical accounts which antient writers have left us of many elegant structures which once adorned this kingdom, some of which yet remain, to perpetuate the piety of their founders, and the magnificence of the ages in which they were built; and, notwithstanding the ravages of time, or the depredations of rebellion and fanatic rage, still convey to the curious inspector a just idea of the merits and abilities of that ingenious fraternity who have been long distinguished by the name of Free-Masons.

Of all the ancient fabrics now remaining, no one deserves the attention of a curious enquirer more than the Cathedral of Lincoln; a building justly esteemed, as one of the most extensive and most regular of its kind in England, notwithstanding it was erected at different periods, and has undergone various alterations since the first foundation. But as the times, in which

the



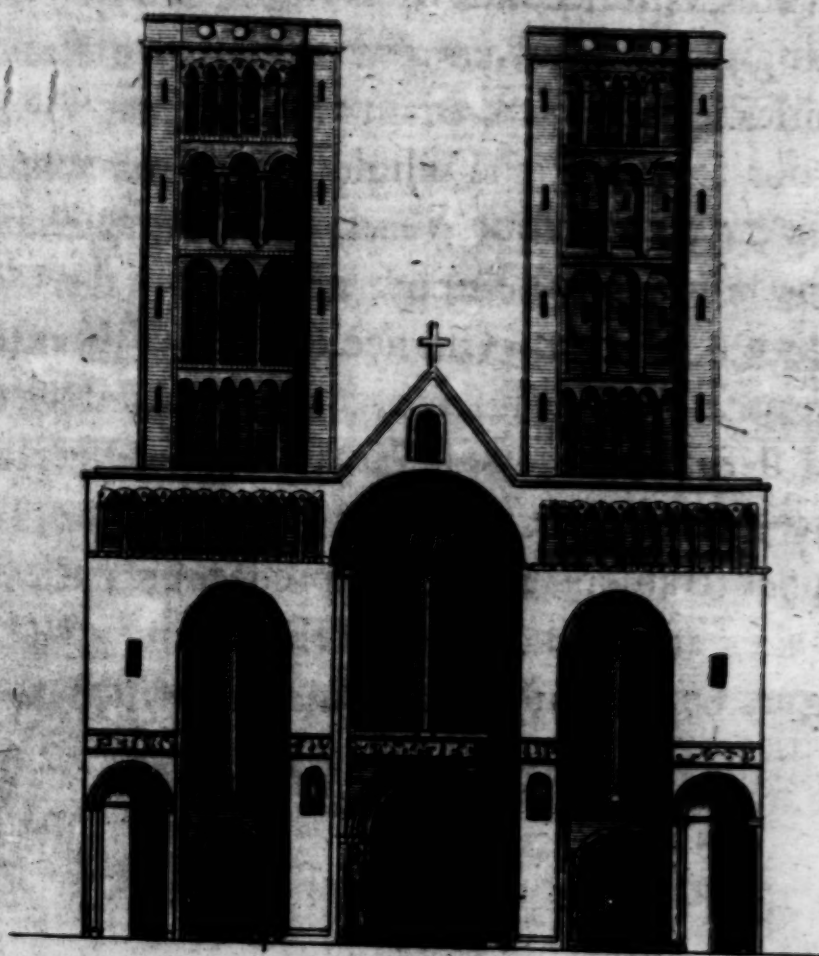
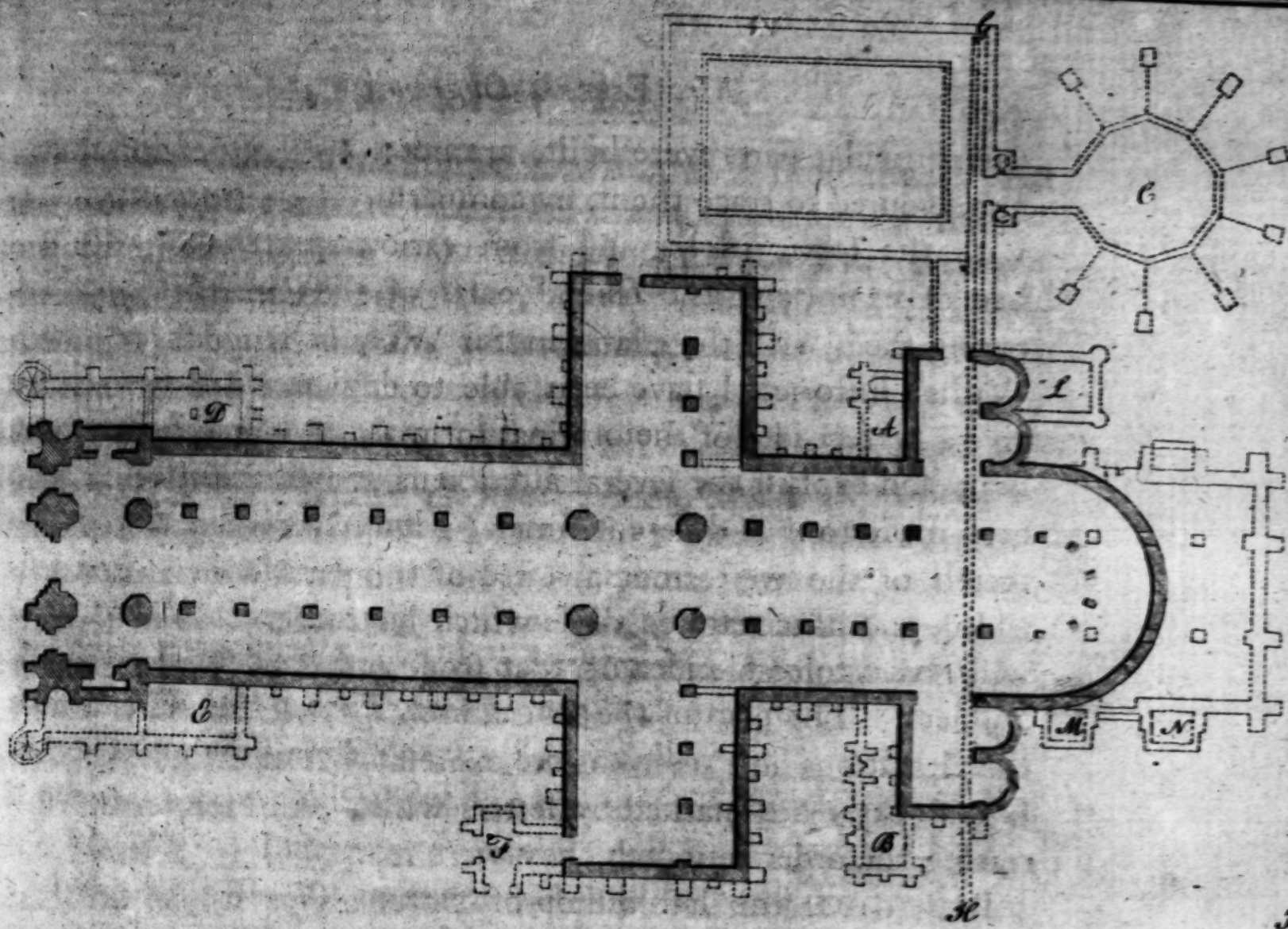
the particular parts were built, are not well determined, I have endeavoured to trace them, by comparing the historical accounts with the fabric itself; and from various opportunities I have had of examining the several parts of the church, and comparing them with the plans in William Dugdale's and Mr. Willis's histories, I have been able to delineate one which will give a perfect idea of the original form and extent of this Cathedral, and explain the several alterations and additions that have been made to it at different times. I have likewise made a small sketch of the west front divested of the parts which have been added, and have restored those which have been altered; which will give a tolerable idea of that front as it was left by the first builders. The plan of the first church is represented as perfect, the alterations and additions are exprest by dotted lines, and the several parts are marked by letters which will be referred to in tracing the order in which they were made.

REMIGIUS, the last bishop of Dorchester, and first of Lincoln, laid the foundations of his Cathedral in the year of our Lord 1088, the second of William Rufus; and it is probable, he, being a Norman, employed Norman masons to superintend the building: he covered in the eastern part of it, though he could not complete the whole before his death, which happened in the year 1092, four years after he had laid the foundations, and was buried in the upper north transept.

ROBERT BLOET, Chancellor to William Rufus, succeeded Remigius in the year 1092. He finished the church, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin Mary. He was bishop of this see thirty-one years, died in the year 1123, and was buried in the upper transept near his predecessor.

In the annexed plate is the plan of the church, which Remigius began, and Bloet finished. It was built in the form







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of a double cross, according to the fashion of those times. At the west end there were two towers, and another upon the intersection of the nave and great transept; the first are yet remaining, the other was taken down when the present rood tower was built. In the west front there were three gates which opened into the nave and side aisles, over which there were three large windows, which gave light to the nave and aisles. Between the west end and the great transept, there were eight arches on each side, supported by piers or pillars; above the arches, which were semicircular, was a tier of windows, with the same sort of arches; within the thickness of the wall, above the arches, was a passage for a way to the windows round the church, and a communication between the rood tower and those at the west end; on the east side of the great transept, there was a portico of six arches, three in the north and three in the south arm, designed for chapels: between the great transept and the upper transept there were four arches on each side, the width of the upper transept included a fifth, and beyond that was another, from the eastern pillar of which the tribune ran in semicircle, with the aisles which were continued round the east end. In the upper transept, there were four semicircular chapels, two in the North, and two in the South.

The West front and two towers of the old church are still remaining, and include one arch on each side of the present church. The West doors are highly ornamented and well executed for that time; the arches are all semicircular, and there seem to have been statues on each side the principal gate. On the outer piers there are two very large niches, with two more on the North and South; these probably were intended for statues. On the piers between the arches, there are two small recesses with figures in them. Above these

was



was a kind of broad fascia or band carved in *femi-relievo*, representing several passages of scripture from the Old Testament. The difference of the workmanship, and the irregularity in which they are placed, make it probable they were brought from some old church, and placed in this front when it was first built. This front was finished with a range of small pillars and semicircular intersecting arches, and with a triangular *fronton* raised over the center arch. Above these the towers were raised four stories higher; and every story ornamented with pillars and arches. From these remains of Remigius's church, it appears to have been a large and elegant building; but it does not appear that any part of it was vaulted, though at the time it was built it was customary to vault the side aisles and tribunes with stone, and ceile the nave with wood painted, as it is in the cathedral of Peterborough, and was in the church of Canterbury before the fire in 1174. In this state Remigius's church stood but a few years; for in the year 1124, soon after the death of bishop Bloet, it was burnt down (according to Mr. Willis's account of the History of Lincoln Cathedral, p. 49.), and "rebuilt by bishop Alexander, his successor, with  
" an arched roof for the prevention of the like accident; and he  
" gave himself so much to the adorning of his cathedral, that  
" he made it the most beautiful church in England at that  
" time:" but, notwithstanding bishop Alexander had made it the most elegant church in England, we find (in the same author, p. 49.) "that St. *Hugh Burgundus* enlarged it, by building what is called the *New Work*. He also built the *Chapter-house* with marble pillars, and laid out a great deal on his  
" palaces." After reading this account by Mr. Willis, it is natural to conclude, that the choir and upper transept, which are the oldest parts of the church, except the west end, were built  
by



by bishop Alexander, and that St. Hugh enlarged it by adding the five arches from thence to the east end; but, when we consider that Alexander lived in the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, and find nothing in the choir or transept agreeable to the style of building used in those times, and that the city wall which stood near the end of the church was not removed until fifty-six years after the death of St. Hugh, we must suspect some mistake in the account; and, from what may be collected from the building itself, the true state of the affair seems to be as follows.

REMIGIUS's church was damaged by a fire which happened the year after bishop Alexander was consecrated; but it was not burnt down. This misfortune might be attributed to its not being vaulted; and, to prevent the like accident, he vaulted it with stone when he repaired it. Yet we must not suppose he vaulted it with stone throughout; for it was usual at that time to vault the aisles only, leaving the roof over the nave naked or ceiled with wood. The vaulting of the aisles only was certainly an improvement to the church; and, if it did not make it *the most beautiful in England*, it was, as the ancient historian observes, *pulchrior quam in ipsa novitate sui compareret*. But, if Alexander improved the beauty of his church, he impaired the strength of it at the same time; for the walls, which were made to bear a roof of timber, would give way to the pressure of a vault: and although the builders might add pillars against them, and to the piers of the nave, which would support the springers, the walls themselves must be too weak, without the assistance of external buttresses, to support the lateral pressure of the heavy vaults then in use. These defects in Alexander's work must appear in less than 30 or 40 years, and probably were so much worse when St. Hugh became bishop, as to determine that



prelate to rebuild it in the new manner (which was introduced about that time) with vaults over the nave as well as side aisles; but, as the ground would not admit of any addition eastward, he pulled down the choir and upper transept, and began his new church upon the foundations of the old one, adding the buildings A and B to the west side of the transept. When this work was finished, he began the Chapter-house C on the north side of the church; the plan is a decagon; the vault is supported within by a single pillar, and on the outside by arch-buttresses extending very near the wall of the city. The style of this building agrees with the time of Henry II. and is of the same age as the choir and upper transept; which confirms the common opinion that St. Hugh built it.

THE next great work was to rebuild the remaining part of the old church as far as the west towers, including the great transept and rood tower. The style of this building agrees with the time of king John, and beginning of Henry III.; from whence I conclude, it was begun and considerably advanced by Hugh de Wells, and finished by bishop Grossthead, who raised the rood tower as high as the bottom of the upper windows. The two chapels D and E with the porch F were built, and the additions to the width and height of the west front were made, at the same time. By these additions the church was enlarged; and, as this new work was begun by bishop *Hugh de Wells*, it was afterwards attributed to *St. Hugh the Burgundian*.

BISHOP Grossthead having compleated the nave and great transept, and carried the rood tower one order above the roof, H. Lexington his successor applied to Henry III. for leave to remove the wall at the east end [a], which was granted in the

[a] Charta Henry III. de remotione muri orientalis civitatis. Dugdale



year 1256; and soon after they took down the semicircular end of St. Hugh's choir, and added the five arches beyond the upper transept. This I suppose was done in the latter part of Henry the Third's reign, while Richard de Gravesend and Oliver Sutton were bishops. These five arches are the most beautiful part of the church, and most perfect specimen of the style of building which prevailed at that time in England. Dr. Stukeley, supposing this work much older than it is, says [b], "When Alexander the bishop projected a structure of much larger dimensions, they carried the sacred enclosure beyond the eastern bounds of the city, and so built a new wall farther that way, as it is now, with battlements and towers." But the style of this building sufficiently proves, that it could be no part of Alexander's work; and the grant of Henry III. shews, that the boundary wall was not removed before the year 1256. This mistake might arise from a charter of Henry I. to bishop Alexander, *De porta de Estgate, cum terris quæ supra ipsam sunt* [c]; but these grounds were not taken in before the year 1299, when bishop Sutton obtained a charter from Edward I. to encompass the close of the church with a wall. Here it may be proper to observe, that, before Remigius's church was built, the city was enclosed on the south and east, if not on the north and west sides, with two walls: one was the old Roman wall, the other nearly parallel at several yards distant from it; to both walls there were gates; those in the south and east were standing not many years ago; the inner gates were like that on the north, called Newport gate, the outer gates were more modern. The church was built within the south east quarter

[b] Stukeley's Itinerarium Curiosum, I. page 83.

[c] Charta Henry I. De porta de Estgate. Dugdale's Monast.



of this city, bounded on the south by the Roman wall; on the west by the public way running from the south to the north gate; on the north by another public way running from the west to the east gate; and on the east by the wall of the outer enclosure that way. Whether the Roman wall was removed before the ground was granted to Remigius, is uncertain; but that it was removed before the church was built cannot be doubted, if that bishop and several of his successors were buried in the upper north transept, as historians relate; for the foundations which appear north and south of the church shew the line in which it runs must have passed through that transept near the line G H; but the wall, which was removed in Henry the third's time, stood near the line I K. The ground lying on the south, between the two walls, was given to bishop Robert de Chesney by a charter of Henry II. [d]; but Henry I. by a former charter gave bishop R. Bloet leave to make a way through the city wall *ad sua necessaria faciendā ad domum suam* [e]; by which it is probable he began the palace which Robert Chesne finished. Within this space were likewise included the churches of St. Michael and St. Andrew, as appears by the charter of Henry II. to bishop Chesne.

THE rood tower, which bishop Grossthead raised one order above the roof, remained unfinished until the reign of Edward II: but, soon after the year 1306, bishop John D'Alderby raised it to the present height, and finished it with a lofty spire of timber covered with lead; and about the same time the western towers were raised, and spires of the same kind added

[d] Charta Henry II. De fossato & muro Ballii ad faciendam portam. Dugdale's Monast.

[e] Charta Henry I. De faciendō exitu in muro Castellī sui. Ib.



to them, which until that time continued in the state Robert Bloet had left them; but in the year 1547 the spire on the rood tower fell down, which damaged the roof over the choir, and destroyed the battlements of the tower. The roof was soon repaired, but the battlements were not restored until the year 1775.

THE screen and rood loft, with the stalls in the choir, I imagine were made in the time of Edward II; and the south end of the great transept, as low as the bottom of the great rose window, in the time of Edward III.

MR. Willis, and Godwin from Leland[f], say, the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen without the north wall of the church was built in the same reign by bishop Gynewell. If he means the chapel marked (D) in the plan (opposite the consistory court, and now used for the morning prayers), he must be mistaken; that chapel being the same which was built by bishop Grosthead: but it is probable, he rebuilt and lengthened one of the semicircular chapels in the upper north transept (L), called sometimes St. Mary's chapel, which a few years ago was restored to its original form.

MR. Willis must be mistaken likewise in saying that bishop William Alnwick made the stately south porch; for, if he means the beautiful porch on the south side of the presbytery, that is evidently part of the original building erected in the reign of Henry III. the two adjoining chapels M and N are more modern. One of them was built by bishop Ruffel in the reign of Henry VII. the other by bishop Longland, in imitation of it, in the reign of Henry VIII; or, if he means the great porch (F) adjoining to the south end of the great transept, that is as old as the transept itself. But, as much was done in the reign of Henry VI. at the West end of the church, particularly the vaulting under the south and north towers, the three windows over the west doors, and other ornamental work on the inside, with

[f] Itin. viii. 49. b. where he is miscalled Gwyney.



the tabernacles and statues over the great door on the outside; it is probable they were done in the time of bishop Alnwick; and, as he was buried in the middle of the nave near the west door, he might have made the vaulting under the south tower at his own expence, which being the entrance into the south aisle or portico might be called the south porch.

I WILL not in these remarks undertake to determine the precedence betwixt the churches of York and Lincoln; but, as the point has been long contested, I will give the opinion of the late lord Burlington upon the question, extracted from a letter of the late Mr. Sympson of Lincoln to Mr. Precentor Trimnel, dated July 9, 1740 [g].

“ BE pleased, Sir, with my humble service, to let Mr. Willis know so much, that the precedence betwixt our church and that of York may be no longer a question with him.

“ I HAVE his lordship's leave to say, that this is by far the noblest Gothic structure in England, and York in no degree comparable to it. He even prefers our west front to any thing of the kind in Europe; and says, that whoever had the conducting of it was well acquainted with the noblest buildings of Old Rome, and had united some of their greatest beauties in that one work [h].”

LORD Burlington had a taste for architecture, and was as capable of deciding this question as any person; but the merit of Gothic architecture was then but little noticed, and the distinctions of style but little known. It was the fashion to apply the name of Gothic to every irregular or disproportioned

[g] From the Rev. Mr. Cole's MS. Collections.

[h] Dr. Stukeley thought that the effect produced by York or Beverley much exceeded Lincoln. The general proportion of York is much grander, and the whiteness of the stone renders it incomparably more beautiful. MS. Letter to R. Gale, Esq; 1740.

building;



building; and, strange as it must appear, the noblest of our old cathedrals, and other ingenious works, have been no better esteemed than the productions of a rude people, who were ignorant of all the principles of designing, and the art of executing. But, under whatever denomination the conductors of these noble fabricks may be placed, whether we call them Goths or Free-masons, we must acknowledge that the style of building which they used was brought to a more perfect system ~~by~~ them, than the Greek or Roman has been by modern architects; and that the principles on which it was founded were unknown to the greatest professors of architecture since the Reformation, is evident from the attempts of Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Kent, and many others of inferior abilities since their time, who have endeavoured to imitate it without success. But we are not to conclude, that the conductors of these stately fabricks had no principles to direct them, because these great men did not discover them; for if any one, who is properly qualified, will divest himself of his prejudices in favour of the mode of building which fashion has made agreeable, and impartially examine the merits of those Gothic buildings which are perfect, he must acknowledge, that the ancient Free-masons were equal to our modern architects in taste for designing (agreeable to the mode of their times), and superior to them in abilities to execute; that they perfectly understood the nature and use of proportions, and knew how to vary them when they wanted to produce a striking effect. In the execution of their designs, they knew how to please, by uniting neatness and delicacy in their work; and to surprize, by the artful execution of it. In short, when we consider the greatness of their designs, we must allow they had a taste well adapted to the religion and genius of the age in which they lived.



**XIV. Account of the Discoveries at Pompeii, communicated by Sir William Hamilton.**

**Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 2. 1779.**

**Plan VI.**

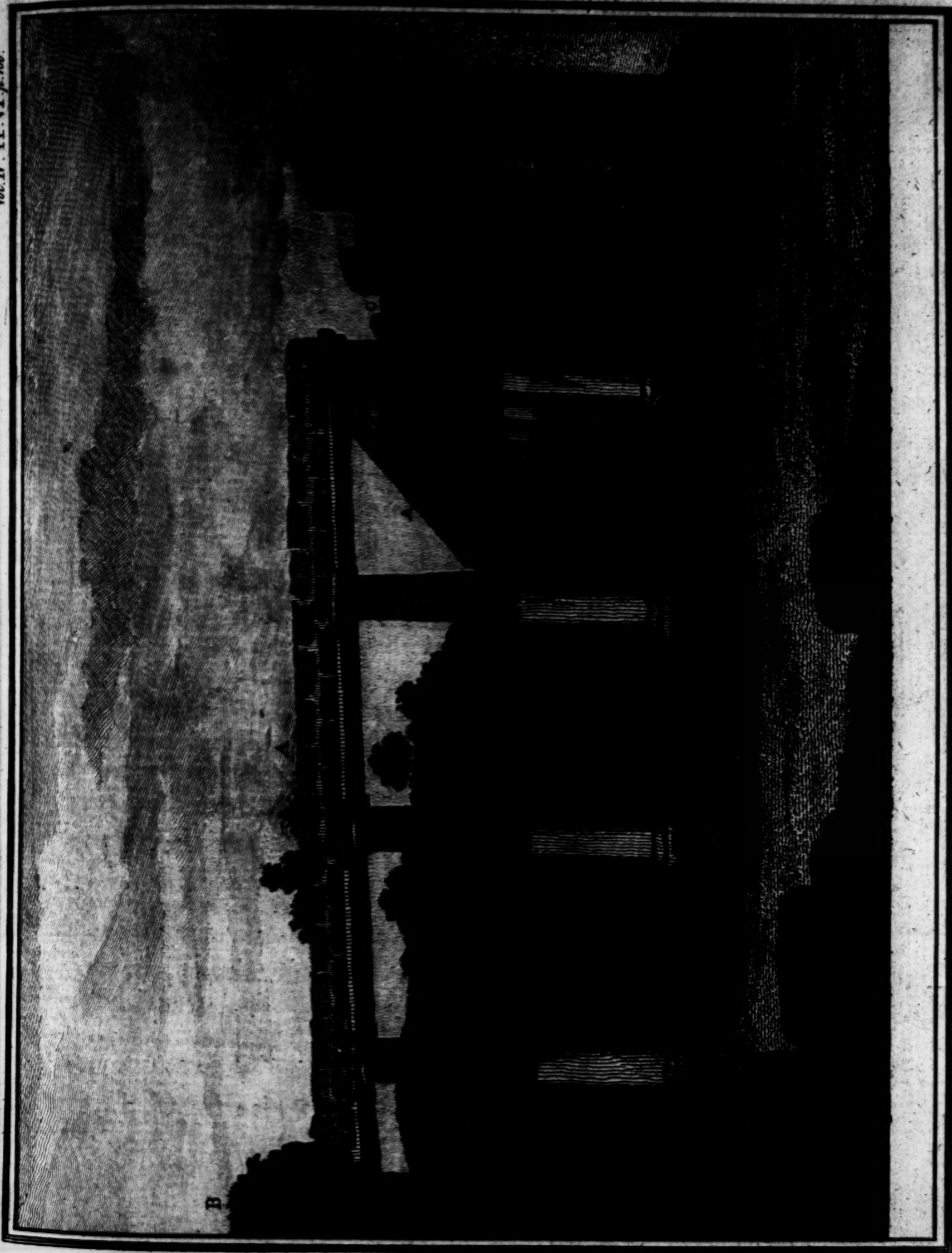
**View of the Place of the Little Gate of Pompeii towards Stabia.**

**A** COURTYARD, round a square court, not yet cleared from the rubbish of pumice stones, and ashes, B. B. by which the city was overwhelmed. The columns are of coarse stone, coated with plaster of stucco, and coloured. On many of the columns, the soldiers have sally scratched their names, some in Greek, and some in Latin.

**C. C. C. Rooms,** in which the soldiers were quartered. The skeletons of some were found in them; as also several helmets, and pieces of armour for the arms, thighs, and legs, but none for the breast. These pieces of armour are mostly ornamented with Dolphins and Tridents in relief, and some are encrusted with such ornaments in silver; which most probably indicates their having been destined for sea service.

**THE**











THE helmets are singularly formed, not unlike the hats used by the firemen in London. Some are very richly ornamented, and one particularly beautiful and interesting, with the principal events of the taking of Troy admirably executed in relieve. Some have vizors, like the helmets of the lower ages, with gratings or round holes to see through. From their size and weight, it has been disputed, whether they had been really worn, or were only intended as ornaments for trophies; but, as I was present at the discovery of some of them, and saw distinctly part of the linings which were then adhering to them, and are now fallen out, I have no doubt as to their having been worn. A curious trumpet of brass, with six ivory flutes attached to the outside of it, and all communicating to one mouth-piece, was found in one of these rooms. The flutes are without holes for the fingers. A chain of bronze hung to it, probably that the trumpeter might sling it over his shoulder. It might be a very proper military instrument, and produce a spirited *Clangor Tubarum*, but not much variety or harmony.

IN the prison of this barrack, the skeletons of several soldiers were found, and some with iron fetters on their leg-bones; their skulls are now placed on the shelves D. for the inspection of the curious. It is certain, that in these skulls, and in many others, that have been found at Pompeii, the teeth are remarkably sound; perhaps among the Ancients, who did not make use of sugar, they might not be so subject to decay as ours.



The helmets are singularly formed, not unlike the helmets  
by the firemen in London. Some are very richly ornamented,  
and one particularly beautiful and interesting, which was  
found in the taking of the temple of the Dioscuri, and  
relievo. Some have visors, like the helmets of the lower ages.  
The temple of a temple and altar near the place of  
the temple has been discovered and stripped before his Smilian  
Major works here. The peasants, digging to  
plant their vines, often break into houses and temples, and used  
not only to dig good trade with what they found therein. The  
present workers often discover the evident signs of former  
works. A curious temple of Mars, with its ivy-covered  
Basilica, is at the side of the temple.  
The ruins and rubbish over the uncleared part of the city.  
The island of Caprea.  
The coast of Sorrento.  
The town of Castell a Mare; near which is the ancient  
city of Stabia, buried at the same time as Pompeii by the ashes  
of Mount Vesuvius. Here it was also that Pliny the Elder  
lost his life.  
Before the king of Spain left Naples, excavations were  
carried on there, and many of the beautiful monuments of an-  
tiquity, now in the Museum at Portici, were taken from  
thence. When the researches were carried on at Herculaneum,  
and Pompeii was opened, the entrance into the ancient city of  
Stabia was walled up, and remains so. By the accounts I have  
received from the inspector of these works, when carried on at  
Stabia, there is a great probability, that further very curious  
and interesting discoveries might be made in that city.

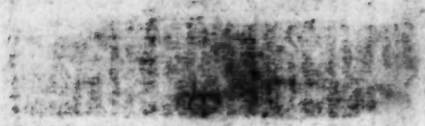








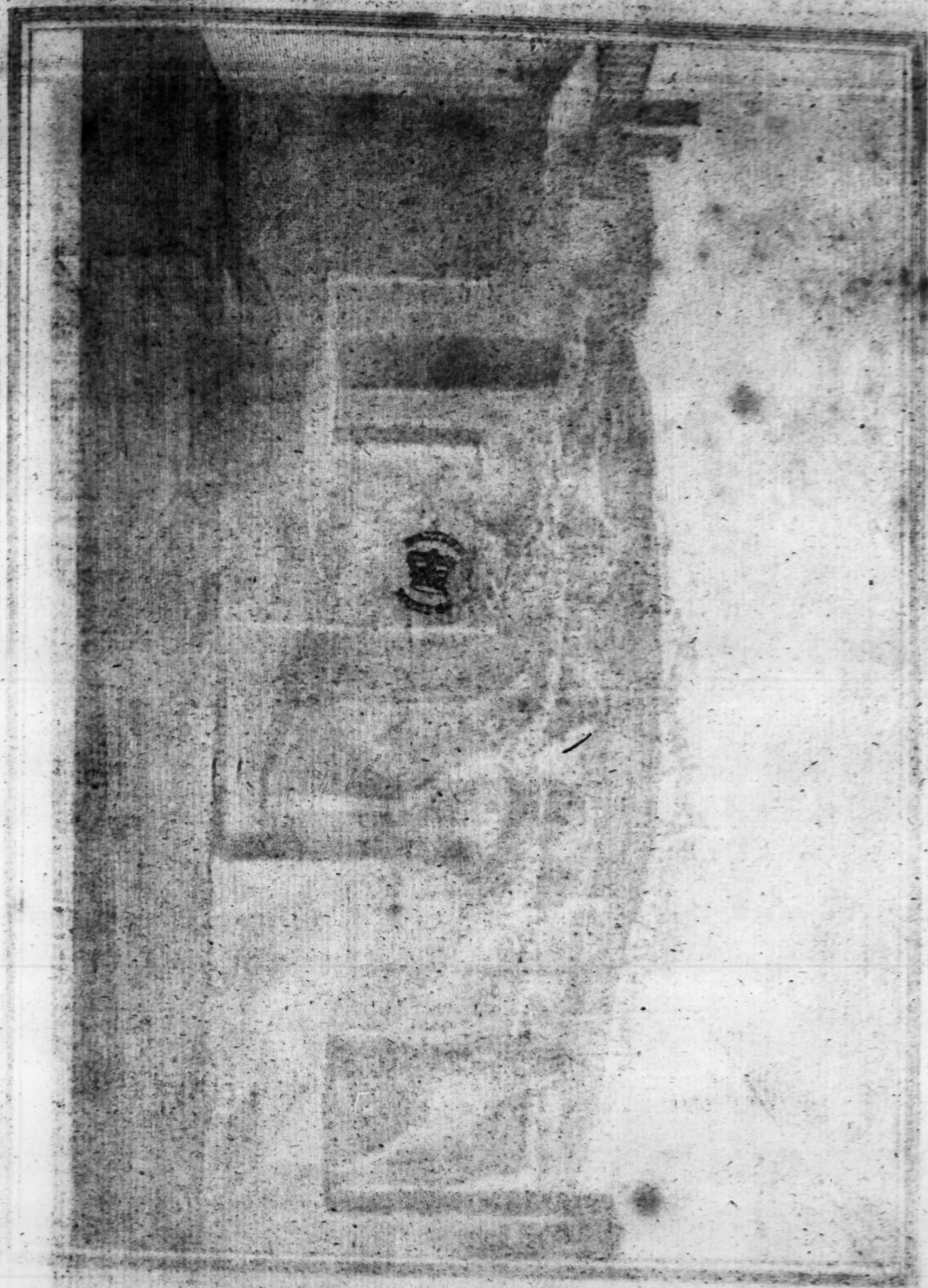




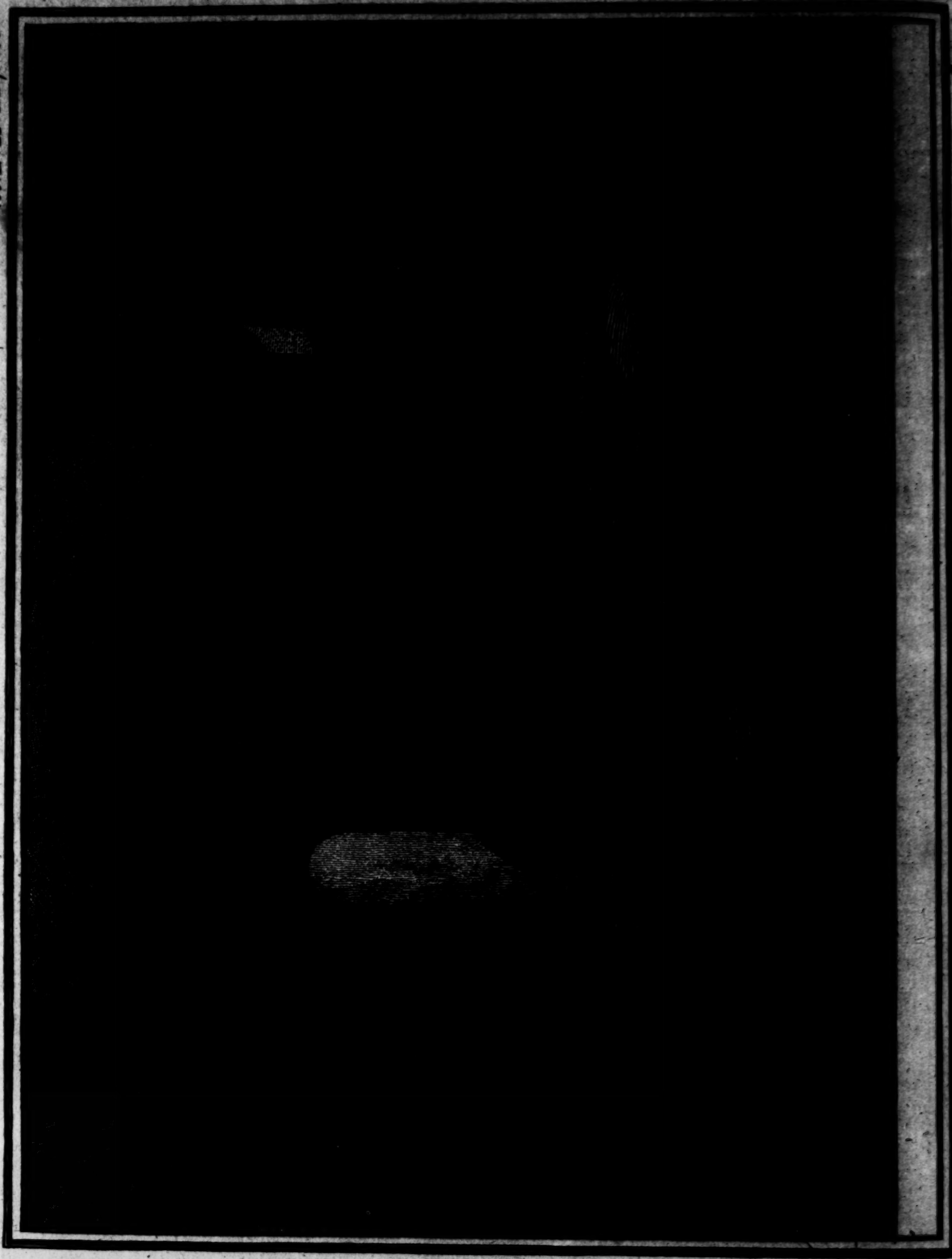














It was an invitation, that the names were  
kind, as the attitude of the people was  
that of a friendly welcome.

is a very fertile soil, on which rice grows abundantly over every part of the island. Dry, all the year round.

part of which were enriched with elegant pavements, and the compartments, that have been cut out, and are now used as floors at Portici. Most of the floors are of the same kind; the ball of which have been carried also to the temple at Portici, and actually serve as floors of rooms in that temple.

At the same time, the moment when you descend a stair-case into the underground world is like going into the IX.

Chapter IX.

adjoining to the burning apartment, and where, previously, the linen belonging to the baths was washed;

...place, on which a large boiler of bronze was found,

By the conviction and distribution of the mother woman (for anastasis) it is the female; the female to be a female.

year, the cattle having been filled with rubbish, and so have  
walked away with calm resignation, and true Roman for-

[illegible]



Mr. WILLIAM HAMILTON's Account of

circles, at the entrance of the houses really found to be  
it was at my instigation, that the houses were left open, and  
the fact was they were not.

A fire-place, this house, the bedroom, and the bath, were  
the only ones found, and no other.

A fire-place, this house, the bedroom, and the bath, were  
the only ones found, and no other.

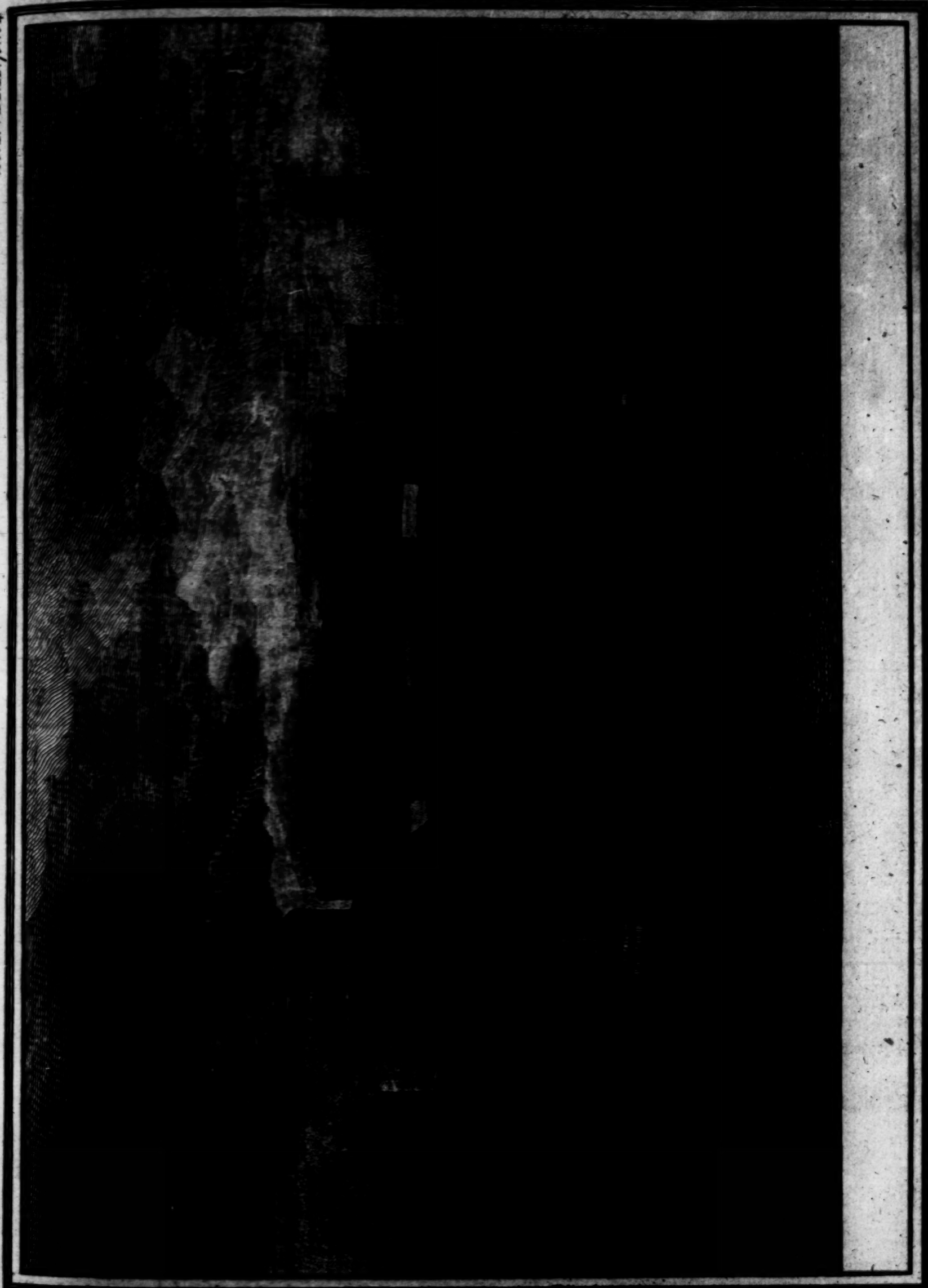
A small house, and garden, near the Temple of Isis. A  
covered cloyster, supported by columns, goes round the  
house, as was customary in many of the houses at Pompeii.  
The rooms in general are very small; and in one, where an iron  
bedstead was found, the wall had been pared away, to make  
room for this bedstead; so that it was not six feet square, and  
yet this room was most elegantly painted, and had a tessellated  
or Mosaic floor [a]. The weight of the matter erupted from  
Mount Vesuvius has everywhere damaged the upper parts of the  
houses; the lower parts are mostly found as fresh as the moment  
they were buried. The plan of most of the houses at Pompeii  
is a square court, with a fountain in the middle, and small rooms  
round, communicating with that court.

By the construction and distribution of the houses, it seems  
that the inhabitants of Pompeii were fond of privacy. They had  
few windows towards the street, except when, from the nature  
of the plan, they could not avoid it; but even in that case the

[a] Mr. John Clark, of Pompeii, observes, in a letter to Mr. Gale, that he  
never saw a fire-place in the Roman ruins, except of the Thermae.

windows













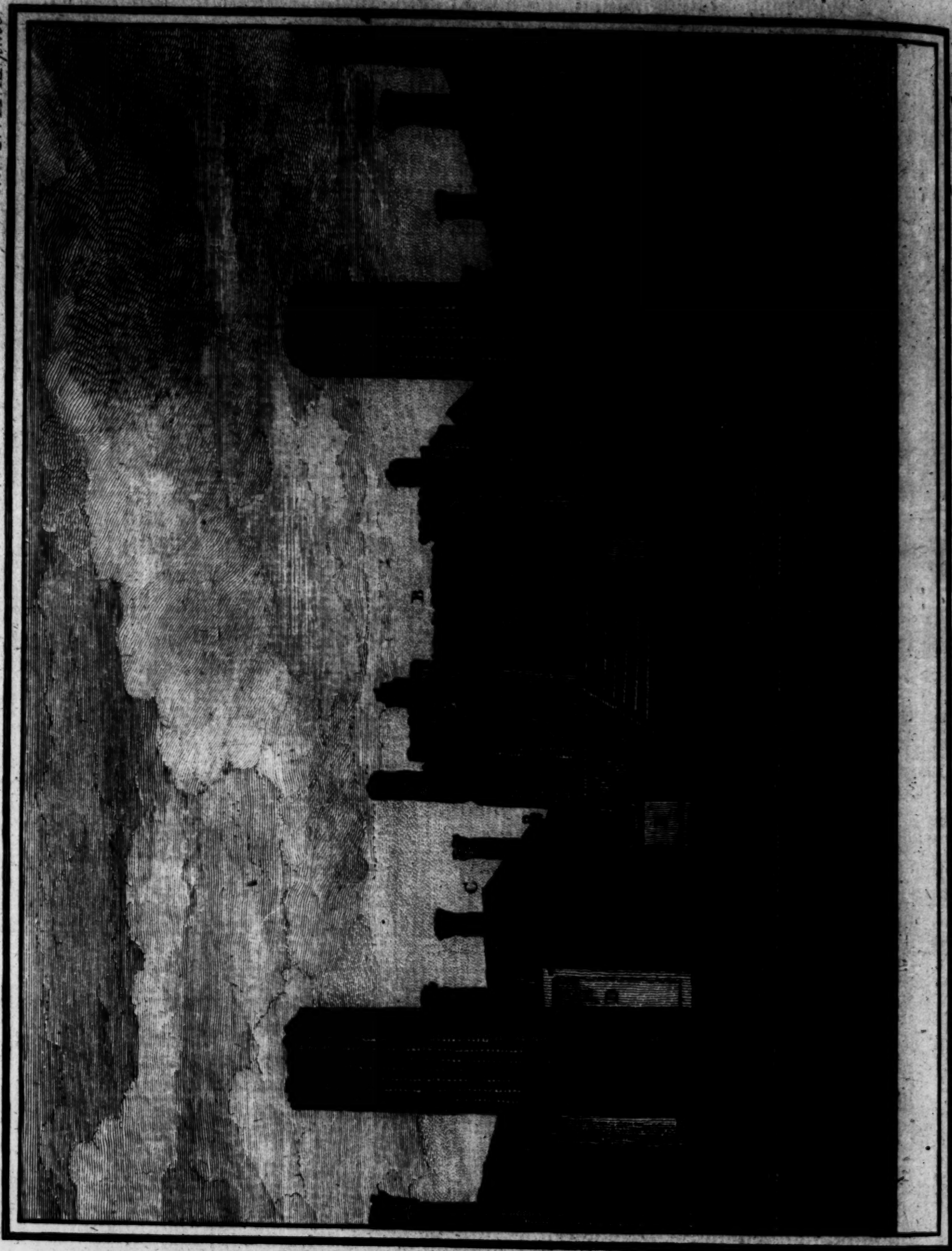














windows were placed too high for any one in the streets to overlook them.

The houses nearly resembled each other, both as to distribution, and in the manner of finishing the apartments. The rooms were in general small, from ten to twelve feet, and from the narrow passages, few communications between rooms were made, all without windows, except the apartments which are thought to have been the shops.

The *Cortiles* were often surrounded by porticos, in very small squares. Not but there were covered galleries before the doors of the apartments, to afford shade and shelter. No timber was used in finishing their apartments, except in doors, and windows. The floors were generally laid in Mosaic work. One great taste prevailed of painting the sides and ceilings of the rooms. Small figures, and medallions of low relief, were sometimes introduced. Their great variety consisted in the colours, and in the choice and delicacy of the ornaments, in which they displayed great harmony and taste. Their houses were some two, others three stories high.

**PLATE XI.**

**Interior View of the Chapel of Isis.**

A. Court or Cloyster.

B. Great Hall, in which probably was placed the principal statue of the goddess, as there were evident signs of previous search for it. Nothing of consequence was found.

C. Temple



C. Temple covering the sacred well, to which you descend by steps. Generally, there is a foul vapour, or moffette, as it is called here, like the damp of mines, which prevents your going down these steps. In the pediment over the door of the temple, in stucco relief, is a vase with a figure on each side of it in the act of adoration. This vase was probably the symbol of Isis, who was adored as water, earth, or fire. The other stucco ornaments on the front of the temple allude to the Egyptian worship, being composed of the flower Lotus, the Sistrum, the Gods Anubis, Harpocrates, &c. and the stuccos are in some parts coloured.

THE ornaments on the side D. represent Perseus with the Gorgon's head; and on the opposite side Mars, and Venus, with flying Cupids carrying the arms of Mars.

E. E. E. Altars of different sizes. On the great one, next the sacred well, the burnt bones of the victims were found, some of which still remain there.

F. Nich, in which was found a marble statue of a female, with her fore-finger on her lips.

G. A well into which the ashes of the victims were thrown.

H. H. H. The walls of the cloysters, that were beautifully ornamented with Arabesque paintings, most of which have been cut out, and carried to the Museum at Portici. Nothing can be in a more exquisite taste than the great foliage ornament, that went round the whole cloyster.

NEAR the great altar B. and against the wall marked I. was a tablet of basalte, with Egyptian hieroglyphics engraved thereon, which has been carried to the Museum at Portici.

THE statue of Isis was found standing on a pedestal inscribed,

L. CAECILIVS

PHOBVS

POSVIT T. S. D. D.

OVER



Over the great gate of the Chapel was the following inscription in large characters, which has been likewise deposited in the Museum at Portici:

N. POPIDIUS N.F. CELSEIVS  
 AEDEM ISIDIS TERRAE MOTU CONLAPSAM  
 A FVNDAMENTO P. SVA RESTITVIT.  
 HVNC DECVRIONES OB LIBERALITATEM  
 CVM ESSET ANNORVM SEX. ORDINI SVO  
 GRATIS ADLEGERVNT.

It is pity that such monuments of antiquity as are not in immediate danger of suffering from the injuries of the weather, should have been removed from their places, where they would have afforded satisfaction and instruction to the curious who visit these antiquities. Many travellers have seen this chapel without knowing that it was certainly a chapel of Isis, and rebuilt by N. Popidius, after having been destroyed by an earthquake. (The inscription, being now confounded with many others from Herculaneum and Stabia, in the court of the Museum at Portici, may have easily escaped their notice. The columns of the chapel of Isis are of brick covered with stucco, and painted.

In a room behind the altar B. a skeleton was found with a plate near it, on which were the bones of a fish; and the utensils that had been used in dressing that fish were found in a little kitchen adjoining. In another room was likewise found a skeleton with an iron crow lying near it. The paintings of the sides of this room, and even the brick wall, are much broken, probably by this person, who was inclosed by the cruel shower of pumice-stones and ashes that covered the city, and had been endeavouring, in vain, with the iron crow, to force his way out.



Close to the chapel of Isis is a theatre, no more of which has been discovered than the scene and the corridor that leads to the seats. In this corridor, was a retiring-place for necessary accretions, where the pipe to convey the water, and the pipes of our water-closets, still remain; the wood of the pipes having mouldered away by time.

PLATE XII.

A. Principal entrance of the city of Pompeii.

B. B. Seats of stone, one of which, with a sepulchral inscription, is now in the court of the Museum at Portici.

C. Pedestal of a colossal statue of bronze, some fragments of the drapery of which were found near it, the rest having probably been carried off by the peasants. Many curious monuments of this kind have been, as I am informed, melted down by them, and sold for the weight of the metal.

THE width of the horse-way of the street is in general about ten feet eight inches English, and the elevated foot way, on each side, is about three feet wide; but in some parts both horse and foot way are wider.

THE tracks of the wheels of carriages are plainly marked on the pavement, by which we see, that the wheels were near 4 feet asunder, and the wheel itself about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad.

IN a little room which you enter by the door D, was found the famous and beautiful Tripod of bronze supported by Priapi Fauns, which now stands on a table in the first room of the Museum at Portici. This gate of the town was discovered many years ago, (it is now twenty-seven years since the king of Spain began first to search at Pompeii), but it is not above five years that



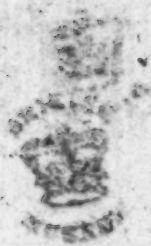


*Beine do.*













Admiral



that they have thought proper to enter the town by the gate, having contented themselves with digging into houses here and there at random, taking out what they could find, and filling up the holes again.

E. E. Fragments of columns.

F. F. Uncleared rubbish over the city.

### Plate XIII.

VIEW of the ruins of the houses on the right-hand side of the street as you enter the gate.

A. The first house was thought to have been an inn. The bones of horses were found in the stables; and in the cellar large earthen vessels for wine.

THROUGH stones of the foot pavement B. B. B. are holes bored, which probably served to pass the halters of horses or mules, while they stood at the doors of the houses.

C. The next house seemed, by what was found in the shop, to have been that of an apothecary.

D. The Priapus, cut in stone, and placed in a niche on the outside wall of this house, is called here the sign of the Brothel, which they suppose to have been kept in the house; but it has more probably been placed there in honour of the Deity so called, in the same manner as we see frequently now, against the houses of this country, a St. Francis, a St. Antony, &c. It is evident, from the very public situation, that such a representation did not in those days convey any indecent idea.

E. E. Vineyards over other parts of the city, as yet uncleared.



## Plate XIV.

VIEW of the left-hand side of the street as you enter the gate.

A. A. A. Shops. The tiled sheds, represented in the plate, are modern, and placed there to preserve the paintings on the walls, which are very lively. About one hundred yards only of the street has been as yet cleared; it is thought to run through the whole city, which is about an Italian mile in length, and about 3 miles round.

B. B. Vineyards and cottages over the uncleared city.

C. Entrance to the house, one of the best as yet discovered, and represented in plate X.

## Plate XV.

A. Court with several rooms opening to it, one of which is thirty feet long by fifteen, the largest room as yet discovered at Pompeii.

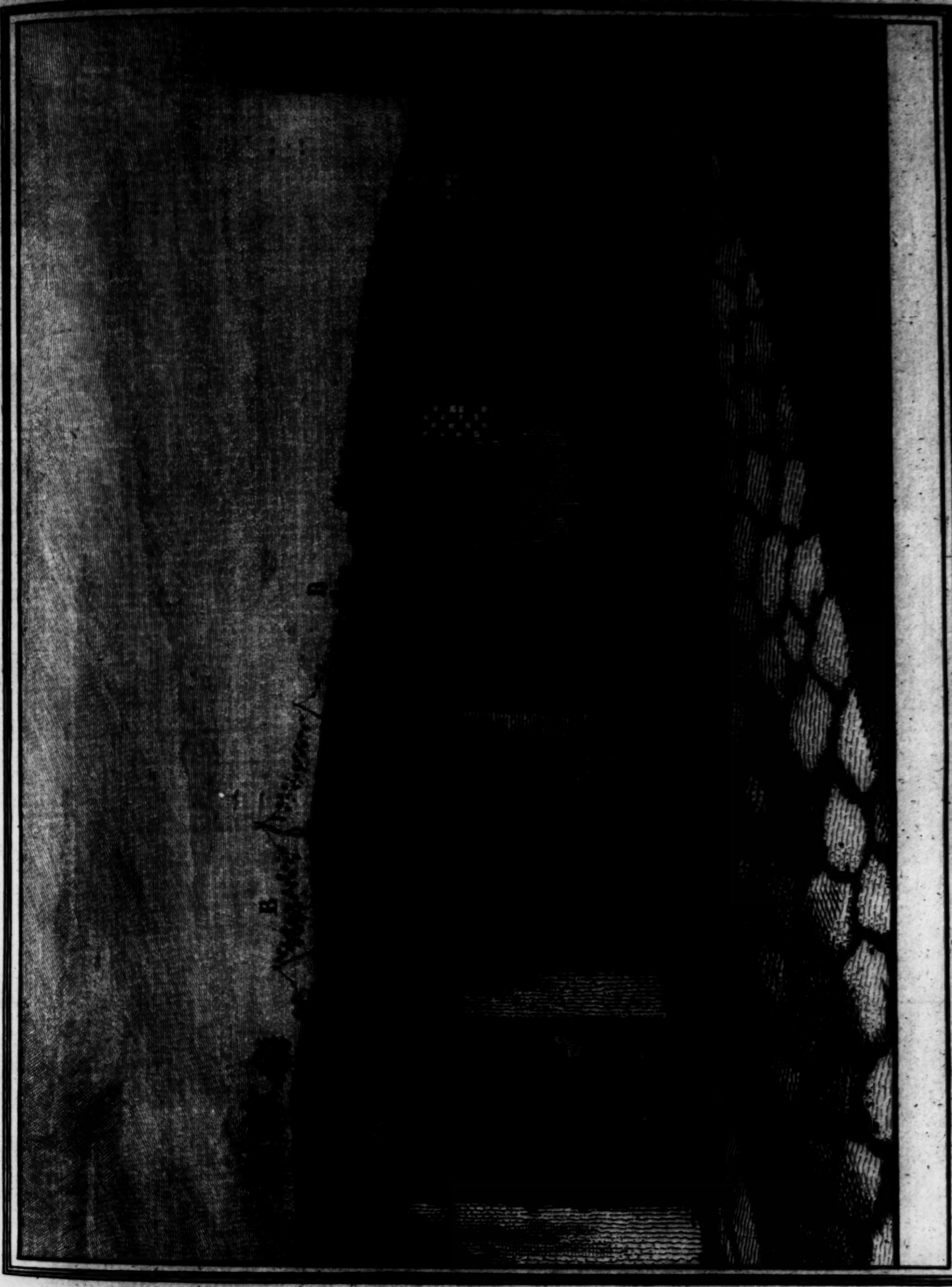
B. B. B. The rooms; the paintings of which were very elegant; but the best parts have been cut out and transported to the Museum at Portici.

C. Where the rain-water was collected, and ran into a reservoir underneath.

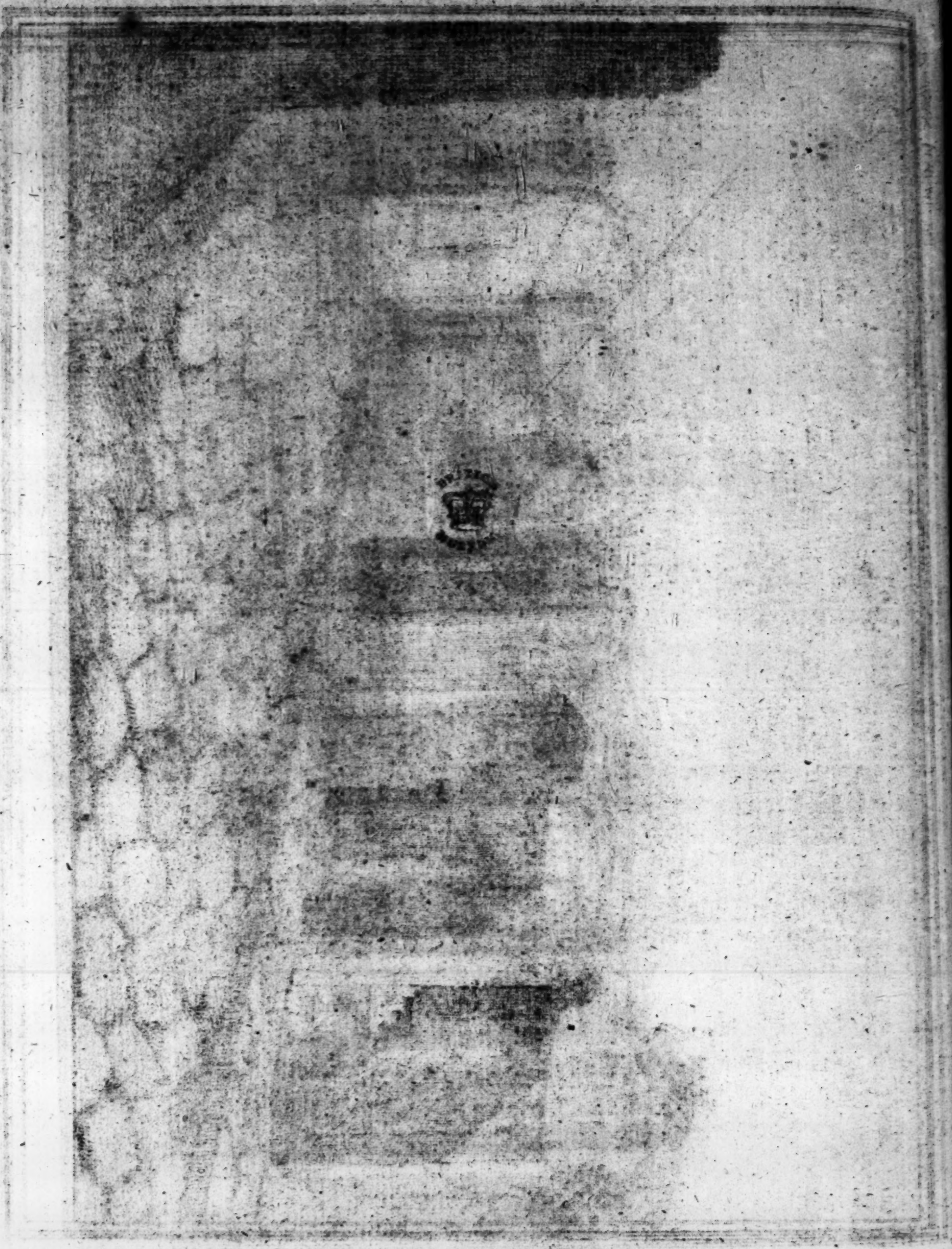
D. D. Vineyards over the uncleared parts of the city.

Plate

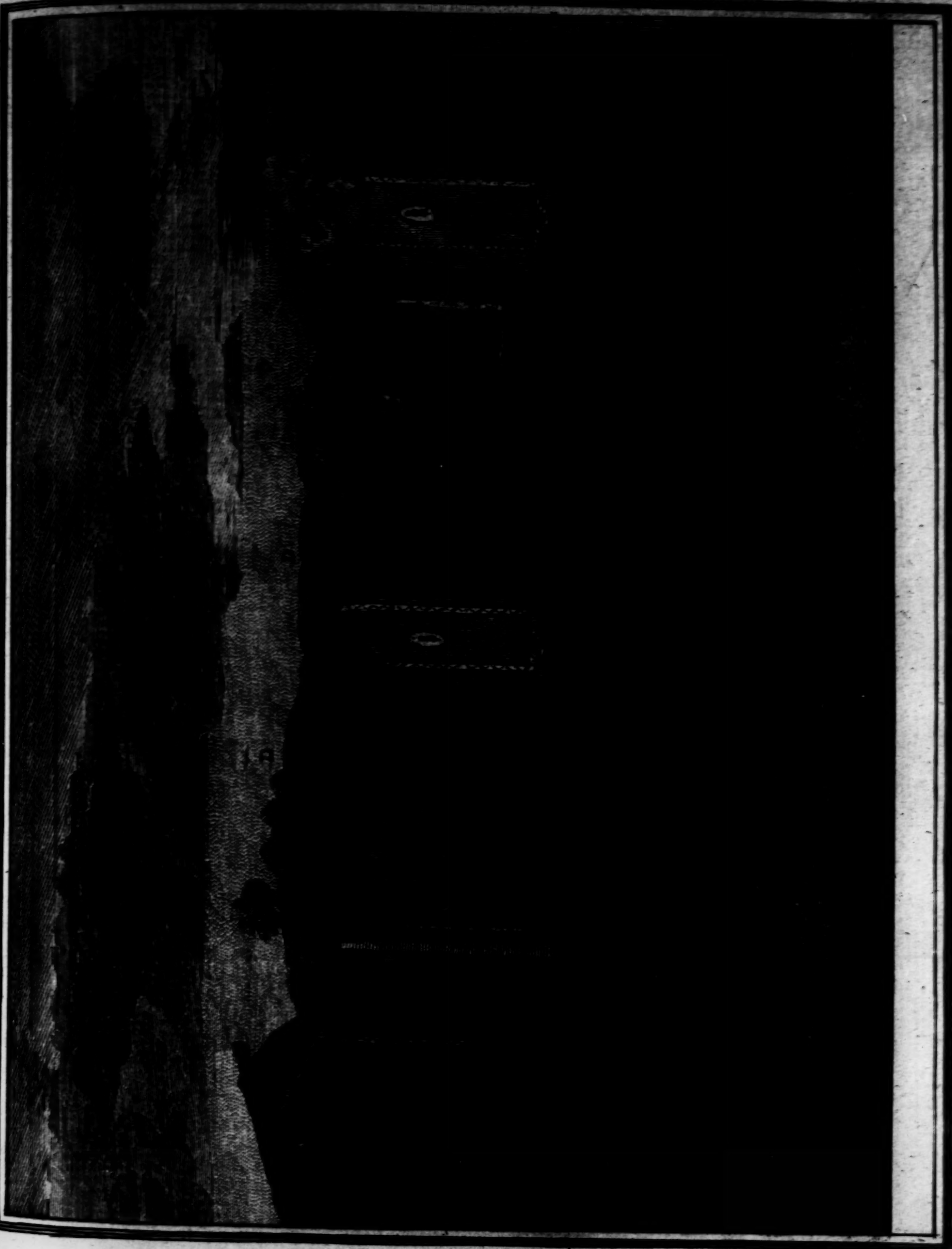














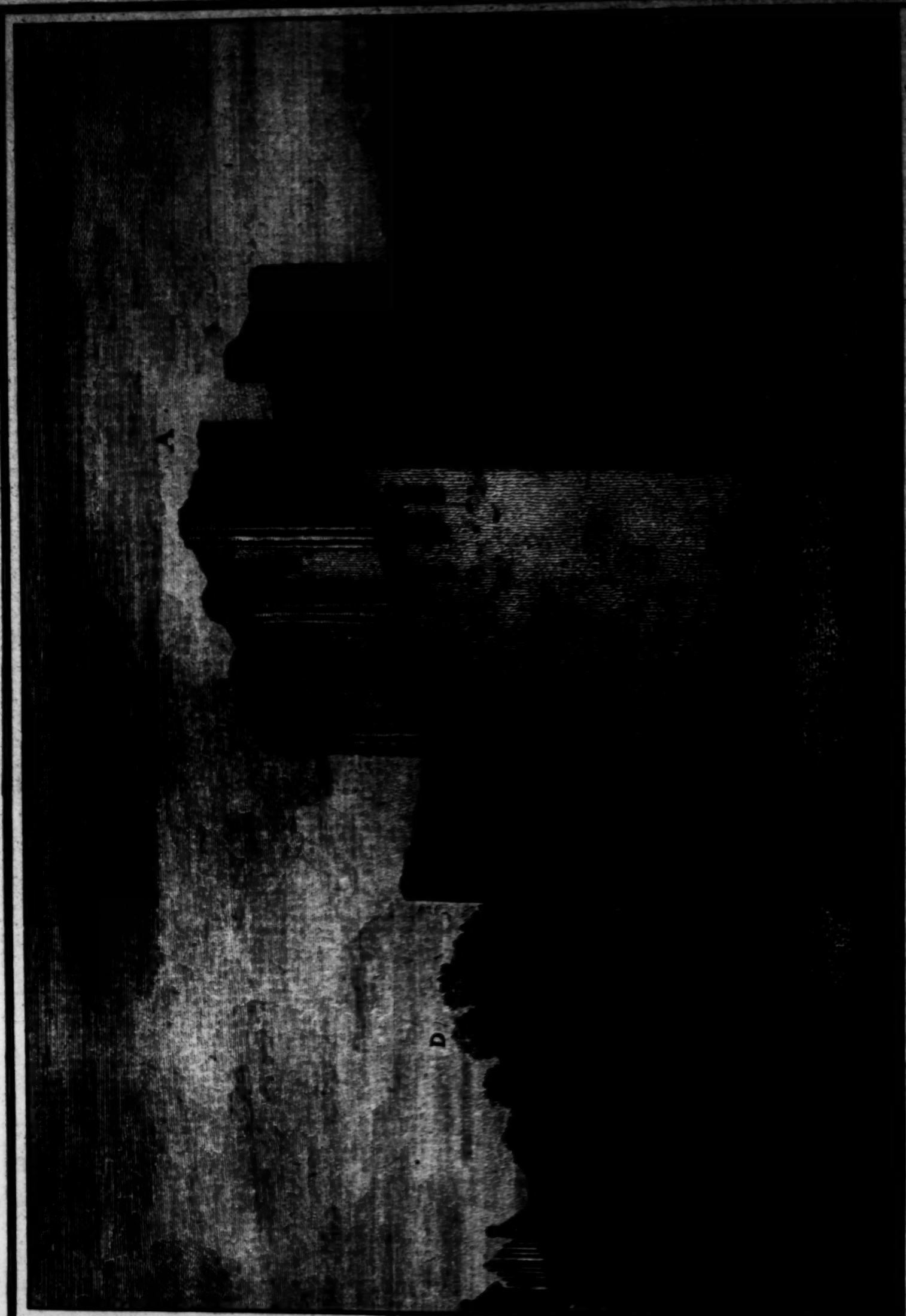








Vol. IV. Pl. XVI. p. 71.



## B A C K M A T T E R S











Plate XVI.

...a large sepulchre, or columbarium, out of the gates of the city; several marble statues, not very well executed, were found therein, which are now in the Museum at Portici.

B. Colossal masks of terra cotta in the situation in which they were found, not brought away till the year 1793.

Under these masks C. C. were found some sepulchral urns with ashes therein. One of the urns was of glass, with a cover of the same material; this urn was deposited in an earthen one, and that again covered with lead, which is now preserved in the Museum at Portici.

D. Uncleared parts of the city.

Plate XVII.

THE present excavations are carrying on at a sort of Villa Rustica out of the city.

THE Villa appears as represented A. The lower arcade is a covered walk for summer, looking into a garden and yard, into which open several coved rooms richly ornamented with paintings, as fresh as the day they were executed. Over this walk is an open terras leading to the greater apartments of the upper story. There is a hot and cold bath in this house.

Below stairs is a room, B. with a large bow-window; fragments of large panes of glass were found here, shewing, that the ancients knew well the use of glass for windows.



IN the cellars, which are very spacious, and run under the covered arcade, are numbers of large earthen vases for wine, ranged against the walls; they are full of earth; the wine was probably covered with oil, and no otherwise secured, as is practised here now, the great bottles having no corks, but oil. The skeletons of twenty-three of the family were found in this cellar; some rings, ear-rings, &c. &c. and some coins of gold, silver, and brass, most of which are of the Emperor Galba.

THE back part of the Villa was designed for the farmer, the rooms of which are simply ornamented; several spades, pickaxes, and other implements of husbandry, were found there. It has a separate entry, and is perfectly shut out from the noble part of the Villa. Upon the whole, the plan of this house is very curious. It has been well taken by his Sicilian Majesty's order, and will probably be published in time, with the rest of the discoveries at Pompeii; and will afford infinite satisfaction to the lovers of antiquities.

IN the street, just out of the gate of this Villa, I saw lately a skeleton dug out; and, by desiring the labourers to remove the scull and bones gently, I perceived distinctly the perfect mould of every feature of the face, and that the eyes had been shut. I also saw distinctly the impression of the large folds of the drapery of the toga, and some of the cloth itself still sticking to the earth.

THE city was first covered by a shower of hot pumice-stones and ashes, and then by a shower of small ashes mixed with water. It was in the latter stratum that the skeleton above described was found. In the Museum at Portici a piece of this sort of hardened mud is preserved; it is stamped with the impression of the breast of a woman, with a thin drapery over it. The skeleton

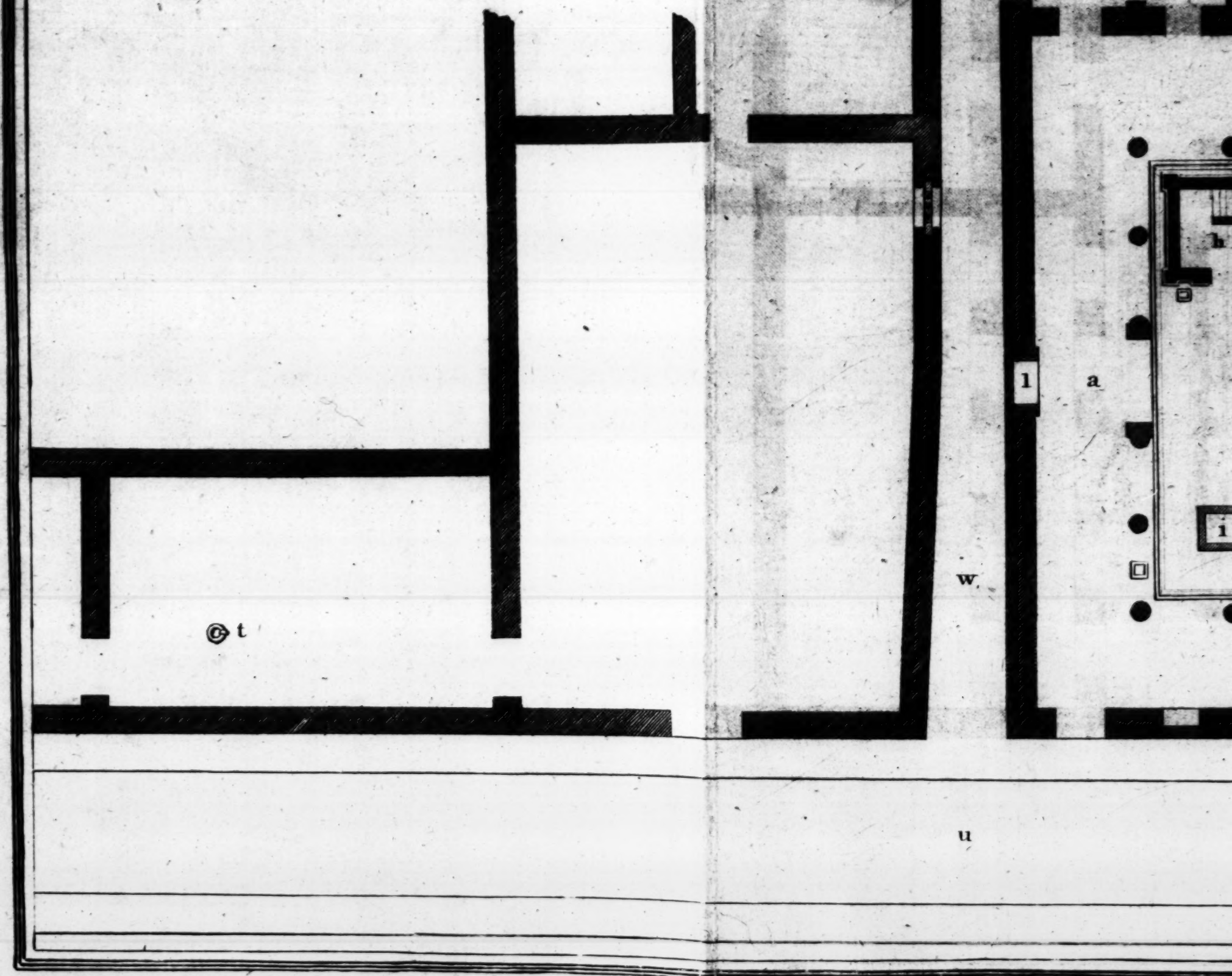
I saw



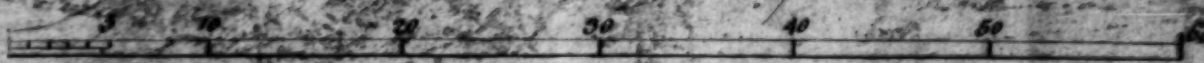




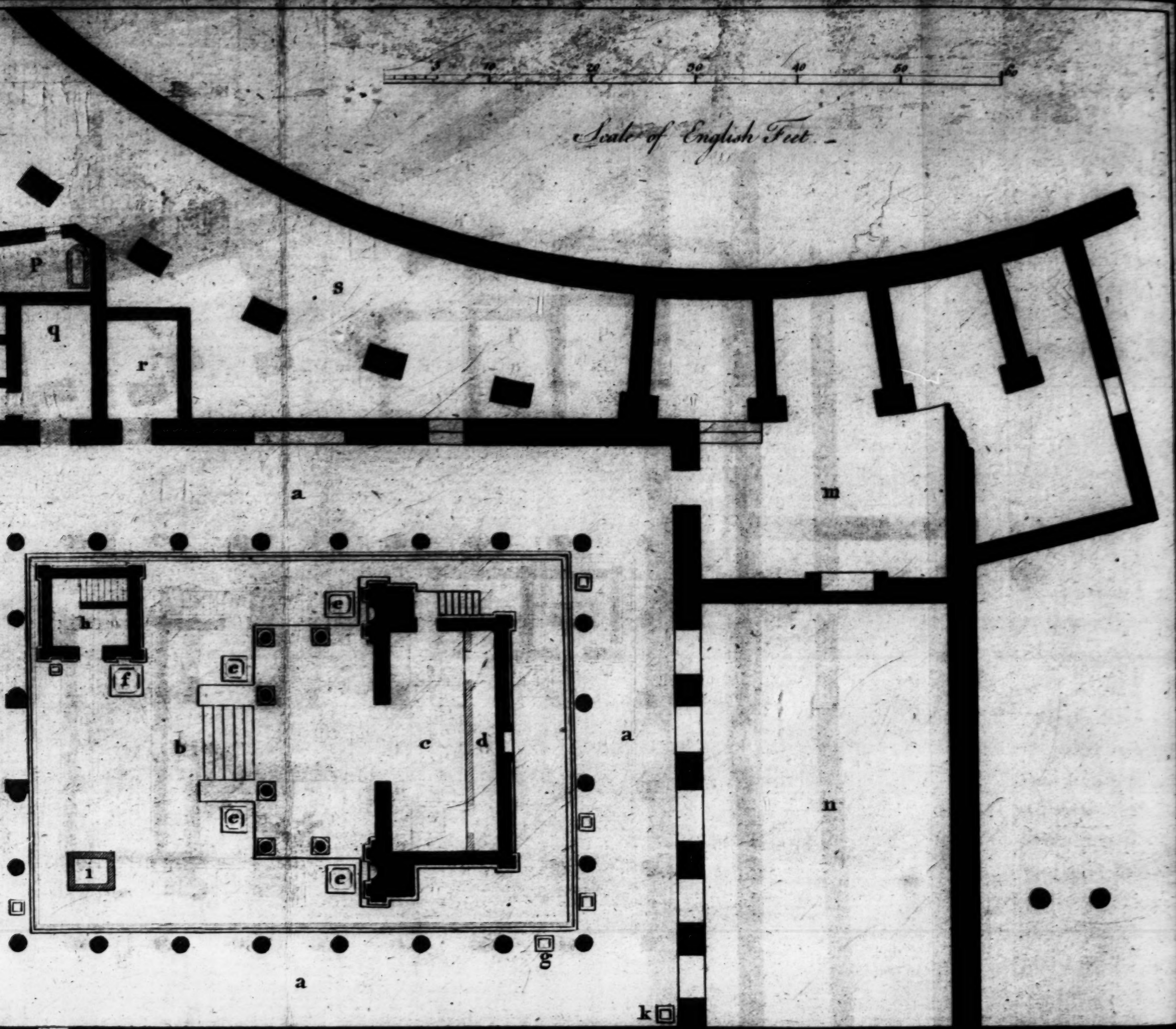
*Plan of the Temple of* ISIS







Scale of English Feet.





I saw dug out was not above five feet from the surface. It is very extraordinary, that the impression of the body and face should have remained so entire from the year 79 to this day, especially as I found the earth so little hardened, that it separated upon the least touch.

C. Ruins of a building in the garden of the Villa.

D. D. Uncleared parts of Pompeii.

**Plate XVIII.**

**Ground Plan of the Chapel of Isis.**

a. Covered portico, or cloyster. A gutter runs round this portico to convey away the water, which fell from the roof, and is described in the plan.

b. The Temple situated in the area of the portico.

c. Cell of the Temple.

d. An altar the length of the temple, on which the idols were placed; it was hollow beneath, and formed a cell, from whence it is supposed the oracles were issued.

e. e. e. e. Large altars before the Temple, without any marks of fire having been placed on them.

f. Altar on which the sacrifice was usually offered, if we may judge from its top being burnt, and from the wall of the adjoining building being much stained with smoke.

g. Altars placed between the columns of the portico, of which five only remain.

h. The sacred well, covered with a temple.

i. Well, in which the ashes of the victims were deposited.

k. Pedestal,



k. Pedestal, on which was found a beautiful statue of Isis about two feet high. It is of marble, the drapery was painted of a tender purple colour, and some parts of it gilt. She had a fistrum of bronze in her right-hand; and in the left, the common Egyptian symbol which is explained by Antiquaries as the key to the sluices of the Nile.

l. Niche in the wall for a Statue.

m. Room where the utensils, perfumes, gums, &c. used at the sacrifices, were kept.

n. A great hall, where it is supposed that parts of the victim were eaten by the priest. There are marked on the floor, in Mosaic, some names of the family of Celsinus; for what purpose is not known.

o. A kitchen.

p. Room with a small vessel for bathing.

q. Apartment for the keeper of the temple.

r. Corridor of the great theatre, which adjoined to the temple.

u. Principal street through the city, the horse-way of which in this part is only ten feet ten inches wide, paved with flat stones of an irregular pentagon figure, their thickness from ten to fourteen inches. On each side is a foot-way raised eight inches, and three feet wide paved with small stones at random. It is fenced by a curb-stone, in which, at the distance of every twelve or fourteen feet, is placed a guard-stone sixteen inches high, to keep off the carriages, and it might also have served the purpose of horse-blocks, which were very necessary for the ancients, who did not make use of stirrups. This street is much narrower than any I have seen; the Appian way at Puzzole is thirteen feet seventeen inches wide in the clear of the horse-way. The tracks



tracks of the wheels of the carriages are worn in some parts into the pavement of Pompeii four inches deep.

w. Passage to the keeper's apartment.

THE disposition of this temple is very different from those described by Vitruvius, and it was probably built on the plan settled for the Egyptian worship. By the size of this temple, it does not appear to have been of much consequence; and indeed in the inscription it is only called the *Chapel* of Isis.

THERE are ruins of another temple at Pompeii, the columns of which were between four and five feet diameter.

SOME traces of a deviation from the original plan of this temple (when it was rebuilt by N. Popidius Celsinus) are visible: the columns do not all stand in their original situation. Perhaps the architect found it advisable to give a different disposition to the inter-columnation of the portico.

IN an apartment near the temple is a bronze-ring fixed into the pavement marked t. in the plan. Perhaps the larger victims, offered in this temple, were first slaughtered in that place; and the parts, or whole of the beast, were carried from thence to the altars; which was not the case at the temple of Serapis at Puzzole, where the rings, to which the victims were tied, are still to be seen in the pavement of that very magnificent temple.



**XV. Some account of a curious Seal Ring belonging to Sir Richard Worley, of Appledore combe, in the Isle of Wight, Bart. By the Rev. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter. S. A. P.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, June 29, 1775.

**T**HIS curious ring [a] set in gold, and of exquisite workmanship, is said, by the worthy possessor, to have been in his family ever since the time of Henry VIII. whose property he supposes it originally to have been. He usually wore it on his finger, and presented it to Sir James Worley his yeoman of the wardrobe, and governor of the Isle of Wight. Nor was this a single instance of that monarch's bounty to Sir James, whom he honoured with several valuable grants in the Isle of Wight, where he frequently resorted for the sake of sporting.

BUT, with all deference to this account, I must beg leave to observe, that the history alluded to on this Seal bears no relation to Henry VIII. nor the house of Tudor, but seems to be entirely confined to the family of Stuart.

THE device represents a warrior completely armed from head to foot, and covered with a vest or surcoat. His helmet is flat at the top, and brought round under his chin, exactly in the same form with those worn in France about the middle of the 13th century, during the reign of St. Louis. The scabbard of

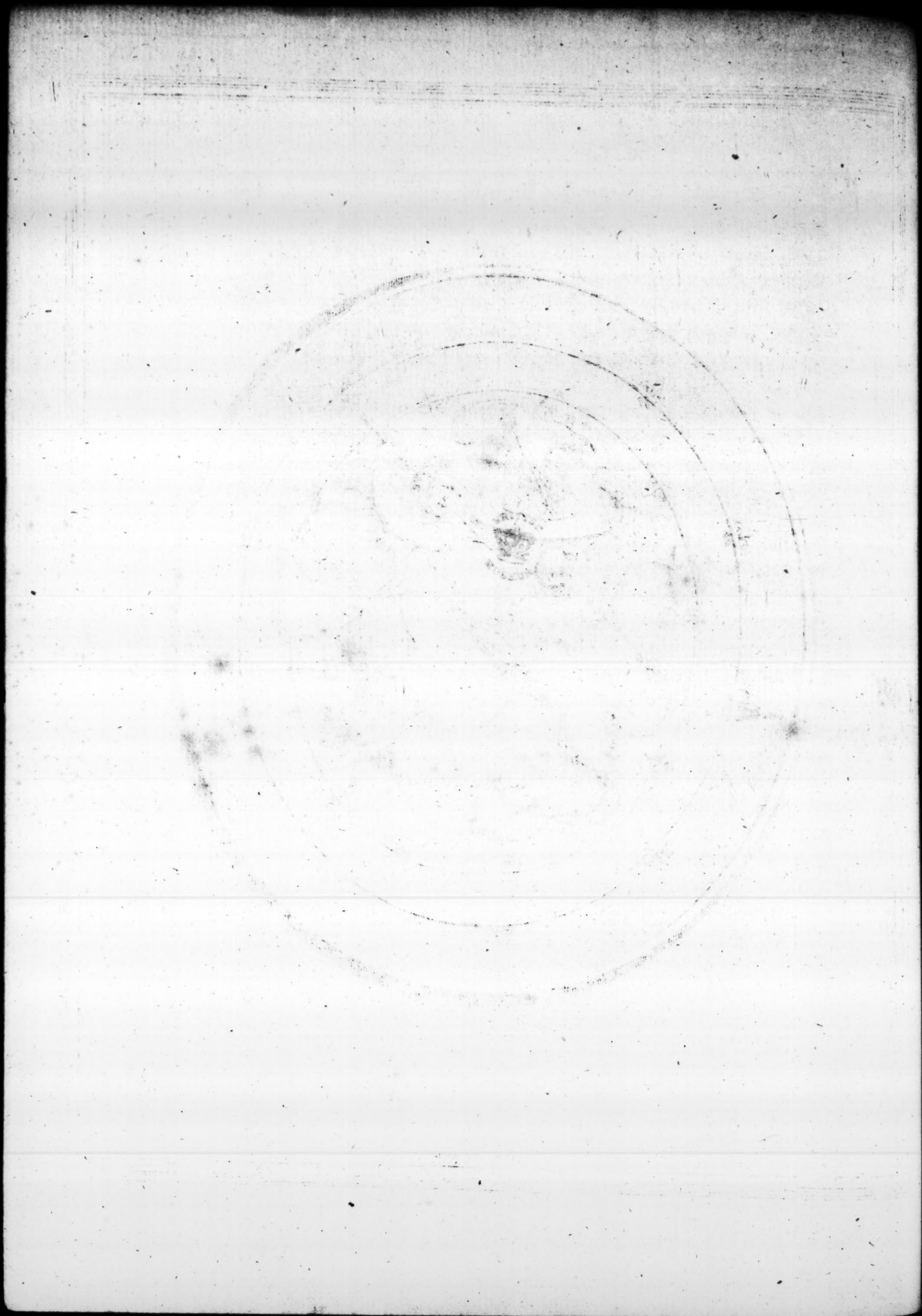
[a] Plate XIX.





Size of the Original







his sword hangs by his side, but the sword itself lies broken in two pieces at his feet. His uplifted arms grasp a ragged or knotted staff, with which he is in the act of discharging a blow at a lion rampant who stands opposed to him. His shield, which hangs before him by a belt passing over his left shoulder, bears the coat armour of the Stuart family, viz. Or, a fess cheque Az. & Argent. Over the lion's head, near the upper end of the seal, appears an arm in mail holding a shield with the above coat armour of the Stuarts, and in an escutcheon of pretence a lion rampant, the arms of Scotland, and of Bruce. The sleeve of the drapery, which falls loosely from this arm, is ornamented on the border with three fleurs de lis; and the whole is inclosed within a double tressure fleuri and contrefleuri, which, together with the lion rampant, form the arms of Scotland. There cannot be the least doubt therefore as to the kingdom or personages to whom this relates; and the descent of it may be easily traced from the Stuarts into the Worsley family.

THE warrior here represented seems to be Walter Stuart, born anno 1393: so called from being hereditary lord high steward of Scotland. He married Margery, daughter of Robert Bruce, and sister to David Bruce, kings of Scotland. David dying without issue male, Margery became an heiress; and therefore it seems as if her arms were placed here in an escutcheon of pretence on those of Walter Stuart her husband. But, however that be, it is certain, that from this alliance of Walter Stuart with Margery Bruce, the royal family of the Stuarts are descended.

THE device here represented seems to be in some measure ascertained by the account given of Sir Simeon Stuart's family in the Baronetage of England, which says, that Sir Alexander Stuart (a descendant from the younger son of the lords high



stewards of Scotland, and an ancestor of Sir Simeon's family) had an honourable addition made to his coat armour by Charles the Sixth, king of France, viz. Argent, the lion of Scotland debruised with a ragged staff bendwise Or, which coat is now borne in the 1st and 4th quarter, with the ancient arms of Stuart in the 2d and 3d, by the present heronets of that family.

This honour was probably granted to Sir Alexander on account of some martial achievement performed either by him or his ancestors. But the Seal seems to determine it to Walter Stuart the husband of Margery Bruce; and indeed there is not much above fifty years distance between his death and the accession of Charles the Sixth to the crown of France, by whom this addition was given. Whether the combat was with a real lion, or whether that beast emblematically represents the contest for the crown of Scotland between the families of Bruce and Balliol, or any other royal or powerful foe, the contest at least appears to have been very sharp; because the hero's sword lies broken at his feet, and he is obliged to have recourse to another weapon for subduing his enemy. Possibly the private memorials of Sir Simeon Stuart's family may lead to a discovery of the fact here alluded to; but I have not yet had an opportunity of making any such enquiry. It should seem, however, that this Seal was cut by some of the Stuart family, to do themselves honour, and to record this particular fact; and as Sir James Worley, ancestor to Sir Richard, married Mary eldest daughter of Sir Nicolas Stuart of Hartley Maudit in Hampshire, what can be more probable than that the valuable Ring I am now describing descended to the family of the Worleys by this alliance?

THE history and personages being so far ascertained, it remains to be enquired, when and by whom this Seal was made. If it be supposed contemporary with the personage and coat armour I



have described, it cannot have a later date than the beginning of the 14th century; for Walter Stuart died in 1327, the very year of Edward the Third's accession to the throne of England: and by whom should this alliance and history be so properly recorded as by him who was the subject of it, or at least by his immediate descendant? But it is objected, that the exquisite workmanship of this Seal is irreconcilable with the barbarous and uncouth engravings of that æra. Although this may be generally true, yet the conclusion does not seem absolutely to follow, there being proofs in every age of particular artists who far exceed the general style and powers of the age in which they lived.

It will also be said, that the ragged staff here represented, and the addition of it to the Stuart arms, brings this device down to the time of Charles the Sixth, who became king of France in 1380.

BUT it must be considered on the other hand, that this is only a difference of about fifty years, and that the Seal is not necessarily of so late a date; for though the ragged staff appears in Walter Stuart's hands, yet it makes no part of the coat armour on his shield. It may therefore be inferred, that the honourable addition, made by Charles the Sixth to Sir Alexander Stuart, was not for his own achievement, but for that of Walter his ancestor.

If the workmanship of this Seal cannot be thought more ancient than the 16th century, how should we account for the sculptor's representing this warrior in a dress which seems to have been so much more ancient, but did not correspond with the fashion of that age? For the complete mail armour, surcoat, and flat helmet, on this Seal, bear the most exact resemblance to some of the figures which lie in the Temple church, which are indisputably of the 13th century, as well as to the contemporary



French military figures represented by Montfaucon in his 2d vol. of the *Monarchie Française*. This form of the helmet seems to have commenced in the reign of Philip Augustus, and to have continued during the reign of St. Louis, and almost to the latter end of the 13th century. Philip earl of Boulogne, son to king Philip, born in 1200, is represented with an helmet of this kind: and Montfaucon particularly remarks on this figure, that the helmet is quite flat, *as all the helmets are represented during the time of St. Louis*. He repeats the same observation more than once, and has given several representations of them in the figures of St. Louis, of Ferdinand the third king of Castile, of Peter de Dreux, Peter Courtenay, Amauri de Montfort, and Simon de Montfort, tom. ii. p. 163, 167, 168, all which are taken from the painted glass windows in the church of Notre Dame de Chalons. Besides these figures, which might have been depicted since the time in which those persons lived, there are more authentic proofs of this form of the helmet in the Seal of Thibaut earl of Blois in 1212, p. 114; and on the monument of Hugh, Vidam de Chalons, who died 1279 (p. 185); and the monumental figures in our own churches will afford other instances of the same kind, which is the more remarkable, because in the periods prior, as well as subsequent, to this æra, the helmets are represented either of a round or conical form, and sometimes pointed at top. Such are the figures in the tapestry of Bayeux, and those of Philip de Valois and Edward the First, represented at the latter end of this volume of Montfaucon. Notwithstanding the similarity of these helmets to the figure on the Seal, they cannot be called coeval, because Walter Stuart lived almost half a century later than St. Louis; but the sculptor, chusing this ancient form to the helmet, seems thereby to give a greater air of antiquity to the Seal than some persons are disposed to allow.



As Charles the Sixth was an ally of the Scots during this time, it is not impossible but that the Seal might have been cut in France, where the arts were more advanced. But if it was executed for a descendant of Walter Stuart, about the time of Henry the Seventh or Eighth, it will coincide with the reign of James the Third or Fourth of Scotland; though neither of those princes seem likely to have recorded the valour and alliance of their ancestor at such a distance of time.

.If, upon further enquiry, the documents either of the Stuart or Worsley family can furnish any hints towards explaining this device, I shall be happy in communicating them to this Society, and in the mean time should be obliged to any of our learned members, if they would assist and improve my imperfect hints on this subject,



**XVI. Conjectures on Sir Richard Worley's Seal. By**  
**John Charles Brooke, Esq; of the Herald's College,**  
**F. A. S. In a letter to the Dean of Exeter.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, July 6, 1775.

REVEREND SIR,

**A**S you expressed a desire at the last meeting of the Society to receive any information that would help to elucidate the device upon the curious Seal Ring belonging to Sir Richard Worley, bart. which was then produced, I have sent you the following conjectures upon the subject.

THERE can be no doubt but that you are right in your ingenious suppositions that the Ring came from the Stuarts to the Worleys, and that the device alludes to the origin of the arms of that family.—As to the antiquity of the Ring, I must confess myself no judge of it; but must observe, that the sculpture seems of much more modern date than the workmanship of the gold; and that in heraldry we seldom meet with lions so elegantly shaped as that which there appears, before the 16th century.

THE family of the Stuarts of Harteley-Mauduit in the county of Southampton are descended from a younger branch of an ancient family of that name, who have resided for some centuries in the Isle of Ely, as appears by their pedigree, which  
 was



was entered by Henry St. George, Richmond-Herald, at his visitation of the county of Cambridge, as deputy to William Camden, esq.; Clarenceux in ann. 1619, and in the same is the following note:

“Charles VI. king of France granted a patent to this Alexander of the augmentation of his coat, for service done by Andrew Steward, his father, to the said Charles, and to the king of Scots, and also to John the French king, grand-father to Charles.”

In a book in this office, in a large pedigree of the Stewarts of Cambridgeshire, which deduces them regularly in a direct line from Banquo, thane of Lochabes in the time of Duncan, king of Scotland, we find the following:

“ALEXANDER STYWARD unicus filius Andree, quem Carolus Rex Francorū auratae militiae symbola donavit, unā cum hoc honore ex Armor. incremento, ut tam ipse quam sui posterī in maiori Clypeo gentilitio aure super Barram Scaccatam minorem Clypeum Argenteum cum Leone rapaci rubeo baculo aure nodoso oppressum, amoris regie monumentum perpetuum deferrent, sicut ex Charta Regia concessaria hic verbatim expressē apparet.”





THE Arms given to this Alexander are the same as here represented, and the device on the Seal evidently alludes to this event. An armed Knight is represented as fighting with a lion, and having broken his sword, which lies in fragments at his feet, has snatched up a rude club with which he is combating the beast. In allusion to this, in some books the following crest is given to the family, which before this ring was produced could never be accounted for, viz. a sword broken in two, the pieces placed in saltire on a wreath, and surmounting a ragged staff erect, Or; to shew the advantage the latter weapon was of in vanquishing and *debruising* the Lion, when the other had failed.



THE figure has on his arm a shield with the plain paternal arms of Stewart, a Fess chequy; but in reward of this action an arm is engraved as issuing from the clouds, and presenting him a shield with the same arms, and the augmentation added, which was given by Charles VI. king of France, in an inescutcheon Argent, a Lion rampant Gules, debruised with a bend raguled, Or; which bend, by an accurate observer, may be discovered on the lion, though the minuteness of the shield hath rendered it very indistinct. This royal donation is elegantly and significantly represented by bordering the maunch of the arm with the fleurs-de-lis of France.

THE



THE whole group, are contained within the double tressure fleury and counter-fleury of Scotland, which in some measure proves, that the Seal is of much more modern execution than the date of the royal augmentation. We find no mention of such a charge in the abstract of the French king's patent, which has been quoted before; nor indeed at the time the event happened, which gave occasion to the device, had the family any right to it. One of the authorities quoted before says, that the augmentation was granted to Alexander for the services that *his father had done*, who was son of Alexander, great-grandfather of Robert Stewart, the first king of Scotland of that family; therefore lived prior to his accession to the throne, and consequently had no right to the royal tressure. Nisbet informs us, that it was a distinction chiefly assumed by such Scottish families as had married daughters of the blood-royal, so that the family having to express this device in modern times, from their near connexion with royalty, might think themselves intitled to add a tressure round the seal by way of ornament, though not as part of the arms.

I do not pretend to determine whether the device on the ring is allegorically designed, or that the combat here represented actually existed; the latter is not improbable, considering, that, at the time of the Crusades, the soldiers were often sent on marauding parties in the Asiatic deserts, and might meet with these fierce animals, of which we have traditions in the genealogical histories of many of our ancient families. The crest, which has been before described, rather makes for the latter, for though we might suppose that the Lion was designed to represent the English nation (no regard being had to the tinctures of the arms), and that he was thus combated to shew the assistance that the party might afford to John, and Charles the



Beloved, kings of France, in their wars with Edward III. yet the broken sword and staff, being used as a badge, where the Knight and Lion appeared not to explain the tale, seems to denote that they were used on some emergency. But be this as it may, we may venture to affirm that it was never designed for the Lion of Scotland, as was alledged. Debruising in Heraldry is generally looked upon as a badge of disgrace. Thus several of our great families, who have been celebrated for their vallant exploits against the Scots, bore the Royal Lion of that country in their arms, diminished in various forms. The noble house of Howard had an addition to their arms granted by king Henry VIII, because Thomas earl of Surry commanded the army which overcame James IV. king of Scots at Flodden Field, viz. an escutcheon of the Royal arms of Scotland placed on the bend in their paternal arms, but the Lion dimidiated, and pierced through the mouth with an arrow. Sir Thomas Wharton, the first lord Wharton, ancestor of the late duke of that name, had an augmentation granted to his arms of a bordure gold, charged with the legs of the Lion of Scotland erased and placed in saltire, and for one of his supporters the Scottish Lion Fretty, as in toils, alluding to the celebrated ambush contrived by him and Sir William Musgrave, whereby with 300. men they put to flight the whole Scottish army consisting of 15,000 men. A family called Monhaut in Yorkshire bore three bars gemells, and a Lion rampant Gules, said to be assumed by an ancestor who was concerned in taking William, king of Scots, prisoner temp. Henry II. and, accompanying the captive prince to Henry then at Falaise in Normandy, was rewarded by him with this honourable shield.





Howard.



Wharton.



Monhaut.

AFTER these instances can we suppose that the king of France, the sovereigns of which country have ever been celebrated for their strict affection to the Scottish nation, should thus have disgraced the beloved Signum of their kings by debauching it with a dishonourable charge; especially when there appears no reason for so doing, as the authority which I have before cited expressly says, that this honourable augmentation was given by Charles VI. to Alexander Stewart for the good service done by his father to the said Charles, the king of Scots, &c.?

THE arms given to the Stewarts of Harteley-Mauduit in all the Baronetages are wrong, which shews what little dependance is to be had on such vague publications. In all the entries of this branch of the family in the Heralds office, whose records are of indubitable authority in these matters, their arms are the same as were given to Alexander Stewart by the French king, and as are represented on the Seal. Nor are the Stewarts of Harteley descended from the marriage of Walter Stewart with Margery Bruse, Alexander their ancestor being



cousin-german to Walter, as will appear by the sketch of the pedigree which I send with this, and therefore could have no pretensions to her coat. I must conclude with observing, that the Stewarts of the Isle of Ely, who are the elder branch of the family, are yet existing in that neighbourhood, though in a low degree; that William Stewart of Ely, a younger son of the family, had a daughter Elizabeth married to Robert Cromwell of Huntingdon, and mother of the celebrated Oliver, Lord Protector; and that the Stewarts pedigree, from Banquo Thane of Lochaber to Sir Nicholas Stuart of Harteley, bart. whose daughter married Sir James Worley of Pilewell, is regularly deduced by undeniable proofs in the registers of this office.

If these slight conjectures afford you or the Society any entertainment, it will give me pleasure; and I should have been happy to have investigated the subject of the device "*sicut ex Charta Regia concessaria hic verbatim expresse apparet.*"

I am, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

Heralds College,

4th July, 1775.

JOHN CHARLES BROOKE, R. C.

STUART.



S T U A R T.

Alexander Stuart, Seneschall  
of Scotland

Walter Stuart, Seneschall  
of Scotland

Alexander Stuart

John Styward, married  
daughter  
and heir of .....  
Bouthill

James Stuart  
died young.

Andrew Stewart  
youngest son.

Walter Styward = Margery Bruse, daughter  
of Robert, and sister of  
David, kings of Scotland.

Alexander Stewart, to whom  
Charles VI. king of France,  
gave an honourable addition  
to his arms, was ancestor of  
the Stewarts of the Isle of  
Ely, and of Hartley-Mau-  
drit, Southant.

Robert Styward, the first of this  
family that was king of Scotland,  
called the Hunter.



XVII. *A Dissertation on a most valuable Gold Coin of Edmund Crouchback, Son of Henry III. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, May 20, 1773.

DEAR MR. NORRIS,

I AM extremely obliged to you for the drawing of lord Milton's *Pectorale* [a]; and in return I beg leave to present you with the following short memoir, concerning a curious, and, in my opinion, an almost inestimable, Coin of Edmund Crouchback.

THERE will be no occasion for me to descant in many words upon the *Seal* of Edmund surnamed Crouchback, engraved in Speed [b], since that must be already well known, with all the particulars and circumstances relative to it. However, as the Seal has some connexion with the series of our English gold coins, as will appear in the sequel, I shall venture to trouble you with a few cursory remarks upon it.

MR. SPEED calls it a *Seal*; and we must believe he had seen it in that shape in the Cotton Library. Edmund there sits *à la foverein*, on a throne sufficiently resembling those of his

[a] See Vol. III. pl. xix. p. 357.

[b] Speed's History, p. 631.  
father



father and uncle Richard earl of Cornwall, both which may be seen in Speed and Sandford; which last has also, and I presume from Speed, caused the obverse of this Seal of Edmund's to be engraved in his Genealogical History [c] as such.

BUT what ensures it, infallibly, to the class of Seals is, the Golden *Bulla*, of exactly the same type, engraved by the Society of Antiquaries in plate xliii. N° III. It then belonged to Edward earl of Oxford, and was afterwards purchased by Mr. West; and, as this Bulla or Seal does not now appear in the Cotton Library, it was probably thence purloined, and sold to the earl. Be this as it may, it weighed eight penny-weights, and, as appeared by the silken strings passing through it, had been appendant to an instrument, and, as is said in the Society's print, to a bull of Pope Alexander IV, to confirm to prince Edmund the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia. But this, Sir, you will deem highly improbable; for why a Seal of this titular king, prince Edmund, should be annexed to a bull of the Pope's, even though it related to the kingdom he was to be invested with, is perfectly inconceivable to me, the *Bullae* hanging at the papal instruments of that name being of a nature widely different from this. I should therefore rather suppose it had belonged to some instrument of king Edmund, and I am fully persuaded that Prince Edmund had a seal of this type, for the reasons given above.

BUT, however strange it may appear, this Seal was undoubtedly a coin or medal too: for the late Thomas Barrett, esq; of Lee, in the county of Kent, had a gold medal of Edmund, which agreed exactly with these exhibits of the seal, both in the

[c] Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 103.



obverse and reverse; and this is at present in the possession of my respectable friend his son. This medal, which I have often both seen and handled, weighs fifteen penny-weights, which just answers to sixteen Florens, the Floren being first coined A. 1252, at sixty grains [d]; and it is indisputably a coin or medal, there being not the least appearance of its having ever hung, as a bulla or seal, to any instrument whatsoever; a circumstance which, when I examined the piece, I was particularly attentive to. In short, Sir, as it is as clearly a coin, as it was a seal, we are obliged to conclude it was *both*; and that the punch or die, that served for the purpose of striking the seal, was used also for the coining of money.

THE next enquiry then must be, by whom this fine piece was coined? The story of prince Edmund, so far as relates to this matter, and without entering minutely into the affair of the Pope's disposal of the kingdom of Sicily, is this. In the year 1254, Innocent IV. offered our king Henry III. the kingdom of Sicily, for his second son Edmund: the king accepted the offer, which unhappily involved him in great distress, by becoming a principal source of the barons wars. Prince Edmund, thus collated by the Pope, took the style and title of king of Sicily, and it seems had the same title put both upon his seal and money. Upon Innocent's death, Alexander IV. obtained the Papal chair; and he, by a ring, invested prince Edmund, A. 1255, with his kingdom: but the earl of Leicester at length, A. 1265, renounced, in the king's and prince's name, all manner of claim and pretension to that crown. This is, in brief, the whole of the affair. And upon the face of the matter, as the seal has so much the air of an English seal of the times, and was probably both made and used in England by

[d] Steph. Mart. Leake, p. 44.



prince Edmund himself; one as all the reason in the world to imagine, that the coin was struck by him too, especially if, as the presumption is, it was coined with the same die. But Sandford tells us, that Pope Alexander "caused, in honour of Edmund, certain pieces of gold to be stamped with this inscription, *Edmundus rex Siciliae* [e]," whence perhaps it may be conjectured, that this piece of Mr. Barrett's may possibly be one of those coined by the Pope. I know not on what authority Sandford says this, and yet I have a slight remembrance of having read it elsewhere; but, supposing it to be true, that the Pope caused some gold pieces to be struck, Mr. Barrett's coin can never be one of them, as it so perfectly resembles the seal, and was probably coined with the same die, and consequently must have been minted in England, where Edmund's seal was apparently made. Besides, the letters of the seal and coin are the English ones of the time, as every body must allow, who will be at the pains to compare them with those on the seals of that age in Sandford: the form and fashion of the obverses accord likewise with that author's seals. Whence the conclusion is, that the piece was coined here in England in the name and by the authority of Prince Edmund.

If it be asked, whether this coin ought to have a place in the English series or not? I answer, the probability is, that it was struck by the authority of an English prince, Edmund, son of king Henry III. and he certainly has as good a title to have any coins or medals that bear his name taken notice of by an English medalist, as either Robert Curtois duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, or Eustace earl of Bologne, son of king Stephen. Let us only attend to the reverse of the coin, *Eadmundus Natus Regis Angliae illustris*, where, by calling himself *the king of England's son*, he asserts a privilege exactly

[e] Sandford, p. 105.



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parallel to that of Eustace. But what approaches nearest to the matter in hand, is the case of Edward the Black Prince; whose gold coins, though struck in another country, and by an authority separate and independant of his father, as we may suppose this of Edmund to have been, have a choice place in our cabinets, and are sought after by our Antiquaries with the utmost eagerness and sollicitude.

BUT put the case for once, that the piece was coined by his Holiness, it was still done under the authority of prince Edmund, king of Sicily, whose name it bears, and must have been intended to run and be received here as money. Whence it follows, that it ought in reason to be deemed a part or parcel of the English series, as the coins of King Henry VIII, struck by the archbishops of York, or the bishops of Durham, are.

THE result, Sir, is, that we have here a gold coin or medal of the English series minted many years before the Vulgar Aera, when our gold is supposed to have been first made; and even somewhat before 41 Henry III, or 1257, when this king, the father of prince Edmund, issued his gold pennies [f]; for our piece was in all probability coined in the year 1254, or 1255 at farthest, when the prince received the investiture of this kingdom. It consequently serves very finely to fill up that gap in our gold cabinets which intervenes between the reign of William the Conqueror [g] and the 41 of king Henry III.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Whittington, 8 March,  
1773.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[f] Mr. Snelling's introduction to View of Gold Coins of England.

[g] Gent. Mag. 1757. p. 499.



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**XVIII. *An account of the Events produced in England by the Grant of the Kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund, Second Son of King Henry the Third. With some Remarks upon the Seal of that Prince.***

**Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 22, 1776.**

**TO GUSTAVUS BRANDER, Esq.**

**DEAR SIR,**

**H**AVING purchased the curious Gold Seal of Prince Edmund, second son of King Henry the Third, as king of Sicily [a], in compliance with your request, I have made some enquiry into the events produced in England by the grant of the kingdom of Sicily to that prince, and shall submit to you some remarks upon the Seal itself; which I desire you will be pleased to lay before the Society of Antiquaries.

THE grant of the kingdom of Sicily by Pope Innocent the Fourth to Prince Edmund, will be found upon enquiry to

[a] This Seal is mentioned by Speed and Sandford; was formerly in the collection of Edward earl of Oxford; and afterward in that of James West, esq. It weighs eight penny-weights.



have produced the greatest events in their consequences, that ever appeared in the annals of England. Amongst others, the association of the barons against king Henry the Third; the appointing conservators of the peace in the several counties; and the settling the democratical part of our constitution upon a permanent basis, by Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, whilst the king was his prisoner.

As the king's wars with his barons have not been generally attributed to his connections with Sicily, and foreign historians being almost silent upon this head [b], I flatter myself that an account of this transaction may be acceptable to the Society.

THE emperor Frederick, who died in 1250, by his will shared his kingdoms amongst his children. He gave the Isle of Sicily to his son Henry, whom he had by his third wife Isabella of England, sister to king Henry the Third. But the emperor Conrad the Fourth, his successor, being at war with Pope Innocent the Fourth, that Pontiff attempted to seize upon Sicily: and, apprehending that this attempt might be attended with great expence, he endeavoured to persuade Richard earl of Cornwall, third brother to king Henry the Third, to accept of the crown of Sicily; flattering himself, that the earl's immense wealth would enable him to support his military operations: but Richard, being a prince of great oeconomy, declined the offer. The Pope afterwards offered the crown of the Two Sicilies to king Henry the Third, who refused the present; being unwilling to deprive his nephew Henry of his kingdom. However, Conrad, having put his brother Henry to death, and

[b] Rapin says, "Among the many historians of Naples and Sicily whom I have read, I find but one that mentions, en passant, the grant made by the Pope to a son of the king of England; and the author is mistaken in the name of the prince."



made himself master of Sicily, was in the year 1253 poisoned, as is supposed, by his bastard-brother Manfred, who usurped the throne of that kingdom. Hereupon Pope Innocent the IVth, improving the opportunity, made himself master of Naples; but Conradine, the son of the late emperor, continuing the war, the Pope found himself unable to maintain the army which he had sent to Naples. In this exigency he applied once more to the king of England, and offered him the crown of Sicily for his second son Edmund; observing, that, as his nephew Henry was dead, there was no further room for his scruples.

HENRY was weak enough to accept the offer, and not only sent the Pope all the money which he could borrow or extort from his subjects, but was also so indiscreet, as to engage for the payment of all the sums which the Pope might borrow for the placing Prince Edmund upon the throne of Sicily. The Pope, the better to carry on his designs, and to amuse and please the king, who was become exceedingly fond of this Sicilian connection, sent over into England Albert his notary, with instructions to grant the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund and his heirs [c].

THE Pontiff, finding that Henry was so compleatly fallen into his snare, spared not the king's purse, and drew away his money so fast, that his ordinary revenue could not possibly answer the expence. This put him upon various methods of obtaining money from his people, which rendered him ex-

[c] The notary executed his instructions by an Act dated Prid. Non. March, 1254; and, upon the 2d of the ides of May following, his Holiness issued two Bulls; the one empowering the archbishop of Canterbury to borrow money for the service of Sicily; and the other confirming the notary's grant of the kingdom to Prince Edmund. Rymer's Foed. vol. I. p. 502. 512.

ceedingly



ceedingly odious to them; but he was so infatuated with the hopes of acquiring a kingdom for his son, that he disregarded their complaints. Notwithstanding Pope Innocent was very sensible that it was out of the king's power to perform his engagements, he assisted him with his apostolical authority in borrowing and squeezing money from the clergy as well as from the laity; and when Henry was unable to satisfy his demands, the Pope threatened to give the crown of Sicily to some other prince [d]; but, his forces being defeated by those of Manfred between Troya and Foggia in the year 1254, he soon after died, as it is said, of vexation. His successor Alexander the Fourth, at a great expence, carried on the war against Manfred, who, having defeated the forces of his Holiness near Nocera, was crowned king of the Two Sicilies.

POPE Alexander practised the same arts as his predecessor upon the king of England, who, being ignorant of what had happened in Italy, was made the dupe of this designing Pontiff. And he, the better to conceal his intended impositions upon Henry, sent the bishop of Bononia to London, with a bull, confirming his predecessor's grant of the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund, upon the following conditions [e], viz.

THAT Edmund should perform liege homage to the Pope.

THAT Sicily should be no longer divided; but that the two parts should be under the government of one and the same king.

THAT the king should make the Pope every year an acknowledgement of two thousand ounces of *pure gold*.

[d] Rymer's Foed. vol. I. p. 535.

[e] The original instrument is still extant in the Cottonian Libray, Cleopatra E. I. and is printed by Rymer in the Foedera, vol. I. p. 893. The title is in these words, "Conditiones sub quibus regnum Siciliae conceditur Edmundo filio Henrici regis."

THAT



THAT he should send three hundred horse for three months to serve the church in case of need.

THAT the churches of Sicily should enjoy their liberties, and that the Pope should quietly possess his rights to those churches.

THAT Edmund and his successors, when they paid their homage, should swear that they should never consent to be chosen emperors, on pain of losing their crown, and being excommunicated.

THAT the church should keep possession of the Duchy of Benevento.

THAT Edmund, when he came to the age of fifteen, should perform his homage in person; and until then the king his father should pay it for him. (The form of the homage is inserted in the instrument.)

THAT it should be at the Pope's choice, whether he would have homage paid him by Edmund and his successors in person or by proxy. And,

THAT Edmund should confirm and maintain the grants made by his predecessors to the family of *Hoemburch*.

BESIDES the above conditions, there were many other conventions and instruments for putting Edmund into possession of the kingdom; several of which may be found in the *Foedera*; and many more are extant upon the Patent, Clause, and Charter Rolls.

ABOUT the end of October, 1255, the ceremony of investiture was performed at London by the bishop of Bononia, in the presence of the king and a numerous assembly of great men, by the symbol of a ring which the Pope had sent for that purpose. The poor king wept for joy at this ceremony, and sent the Pope immediately afterwards fifty thousand marks, and



and bound himself to send two hundred thousand more within a stated time; upon which account, the Pope granted the king the tenths of the revenues of the clergy.

ALTHOUGH the king's flatterers congratulated him upon this augmentation of glory, there were wiser people who were grieved to see their sovereign so great a dupe to the Pope; and perceived that all the ready-money in the kingdom was not sufficient to bring about the undertaking in which he was embarked. In short, this Sicilian connection was become exceedingly unpopular, and the business grew more and more alarming. However, Henry being pressed by the Pope, was obliged to call a Parliament, for supplies [*f*]; and he, to avoid opposition, omitted sending writs to the refractory barons. In this parliament, the king introduced his son cloathed in the Apulian habit, and made a speech, wherein he demanded large supplies for placing him upon the throne of Sicily: but the barons, being sensible of the ridiculous cheat imposed by the Pope, determined not to lavish the treasure of the kingdom upon such a chimerical project, absolutely refused to comply with the king's demands, and assigned the following reasons for their refusal:

1. THE great distance of that kingdom from England.
2. THE difficulties of securing a free passage through the territories of powers at enmity with the king of England, and perhaps favourers of his adversary.
3. MANFRED's being in possession of Labour [*g*] (*Laboris*) and other places through which the communication between the several parts of the kingdom is usually carried on.

[*f*] This Parliament met in the chapter-house at Westminster on Friday before Midlept Sunday, A. D. 1256. The writ of summons is preserved in the Annals of Burton, p. 371. and is eight years before the first given by Sir William Dugdale.

[*g*] Terra di Lavora.



4. **THE** strength of the prince (Manfred) in the kingdom.
5. **THE** alliance actually subsisting between that prince, the natives of Apulia, and the inhabitants of the adjacent countries.
6. **MANFRED'S** being in possession of most of the cities, castles, and fortresses, of the kingdom.
7. **THE** great riches which that prince daily received from thence.
8. **THE** immense expence already incurred by the king without any advantages gained in return.
9. **THE** excessive sums requisite for discharging the debts then due, as also for defraying the expences of prince Edmund's journey, and settling him in quiet possession of the kingdom; all which would amount to more money than the whole kingdom of England could produce.
10. **THE** destruction and impoverishment of England, which must be the consequence of the several and frequent iters or circuits of the justices, and of a variety of extortions, seizures, and other oppressions.
11. **THE** scantiness of the king's and his son's treasure, and the poverty of the English as well clergy as laity.
12. **THE** troubles prevailing in Gascony, Ireland, and Scotland.
13. **THE** hostile invasion of England by the Welch, in order to drive out the natives by force of arms.
14. **THE** diminution of the power of England in respect to its counsellors, wealth, and people, which the departure of the earl of Cornwall must occasion.
15. **THE** encouragement it would give to the king of France, and other neighbouring princes, but more especially to such as formerly possessed lands in England, to attack that kingdom, so soon as the affairs of Sicily had drained it of men, counsellors, arms, and money.



16. THE resolution they had taken, not only to refuse giving their assent to the king's taking upon himself the burthen of this business, lest it should be surmised that they consented to his being betrayed or delivered into the hands of his enemies; but totally to decline being concerned in the business aforesaid jointly with the king; and that as well for the before-mentioned reasons, as on account of the immoderate and uncertain expence wherewith it must be attended, and which could not be raised.

LASTLY, The difficulty and heavy terms required in case the business should be undertaken, and which might occasion the king's loss of his right to that kingdom, after infinite trouble and expence in order to obtain it.

In this extremity the King and the Pope united in oppressing the people; the king issued a proclamation commanding all that were worth 15*l.* *per annum* in land to take the order of knighthood, or to pay a certain sum [g]: he also took a tallage of 500 marks from the citizens of London, and his Holiness sent Rustand his legate into England to extort money, for which purpose he summoned an assembly of the bishops and abbots, whom he acquainted with the Pope's and the King's pleasure. The demands of the legate were so exorbitant, that they were received by the assembly with the greatest surprize and indignation. The bishop of Worcester declared roundly, that he would lose his life rather than comply. The bishop of London said, that if the mitre was taken off his head, he would clap on a helmet in its place. The legate was no less violent; and, in the end, the bishops

[g] In the month of October the king amerced every Sheriff in England 5 marks, for omitting to collect the knighthood-money as directed by his proclamation, M. Paris, p. 804. This knighthood-money was often exacted by our kings, and was not abrogated till 1 b Car I.



and abbots, being threatened with excommunication, were obliged to submit. It seems, however, that some of the prelates did not comply with the Pope's demands; for, on the 10th of the kalends of October, 1256, he issued a bull, whereby he excommunicated all the prelates who had not paid their tenths [b]. Nor did his Holiness stop here; for he borrowed, from several Italian merchants, in king Henry's name, 135,540 marks; and, to discharge these debts, he caused obligatory notes to be drawn upon the bishops and abbots in England, which they at first refused to pay, but, after several struggles, they agreed to repay these sums; and by a bull, dated the 5th of the kalends of October, 1256, he ordered a subsidy to be levied upon the clergy of Scotland for the payment of the debt contracted by king Henry for the affairs of Sicily [i].

UPON the 20th of the Nones of October, the Pope issued a Bull, allowing the king six months time for the payment of the debt to him; and ordered the king to send an army into Sicily upon pain of excommunication and interdict [k]. In short, the demands of the Pope were insatiable, and he pressed the king continually to send him money and troops to Italy; both of which the Parliament, convened for that purpose, absolutely refused [l]; and returned for answer to the king's demand, that he had unadvisedly accepted the kingdom of Sicily from the Pope without the counsel of his nobles, despising their deliberation and wisdom; that he ought to have been instructed by the example of his brother, who

[b] Rymer's Foed. vol. I. p. 607.

[i] Ibid. p. 608. On the 15th of February, 1256, the king prohibited all his Ecclesiastical subjects from going to Rome before they had taken an oath that they would not solicit against the king in the affairs of Sicily.

[k] Rymer's Foed. vol. I. p. 611.

[l] This parliament met at London 1258, and sat till the Sunday after Ascension-day, when it was adjourned to Oxford.



had rejected the offer; that many difficulties would attend the conquest of a country at so great a distance from England; that the sincerity of the Pope was much to be doubted; that the Apulians were a most treacherous people, who poisoned their relations; and concluded by declaring, that they neither could nor would longer bear with such extortions and oppressions. At length the king adjourned the Parliament to Oxford; and agreed, that the government should be reformed and put into the hands of twenty-four commissioners, who formed the six famous articles, called the Provisions or Statutes of Oxford. The barons, before they broke up, agreed upon an oath of association, whereby they obliged themselves to maintain these provisions with their lives and fortunes; and the city of London soon afterwards entered into the association. The king, being deprived of great part of his power by these provisions, was absolved by Pope Urban the Fourth from his oath which he had taken to observe these Statutes [m]; whereupon he declared to the Parliament at London, that he would not be longer bound by them. He took possession of the Tower, and dismissed by proclamation all the officers who had been appointed by the twenty-four commissioners, and nominated others in their room. The barons, after several fruitless attempts for an accommodation, had recourse to arms. The earl of Leicester, who was at the head of the confederates, having taken the king prisoner at the battle of Lewes, obliged him to issue such mandates as he thought proper [n]. All the officers of the crown and of the household were named by the earl; and the whole authority, as well as arms,

[m] Vide Orig. in Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra E. I.

[n] About this time Pope Urban the Fourth appointed for his legate in England, Guido, Cardinal of St. Sabine, who, being arrived at Paris, was menaced with



arms, of the state, were lodged in his hands. He instituted in each county officers, to whom were given the title of conservators of the peace, and invested them with new and arbitrary powers [o]. In the body of each commission appointing the conservators of the peace, there was a precept to every of them to send four knights of each county, to be chosen by the assent of that county, for the whole county to meet the king at London upon the Octaves of the Holy Trinity then next ensuing. These commissions bear date the 4th of June, 48 Henry III. A. D. 1258. The Parliament met accordingly, and approved of the new plan of government formed by the barons.

LEICESTER, being in the zenith of his power, caused writs to be issued in the king's name, for a new Parliament to meet at London on the Octaves of St. Hilary. To this Parliament only twenty-three of the temporal barons which were of his party, and a great number of Ecclesiastics, who were devoted to his interest, were summoned [p]; and, the better to encrease and turn to advantage his popularity, he caused general writs to be sent to the sheriff of each county, to return two Knights for each shire, and for each borough two Burgeses, to sit in Parliament.

It has been asserted by Dr. Brady, Mr. Hume, Mr. Whitaker, and others, that this was the first time that the cities and boroughs sent deputies to represent them in Parliament; which

with death by Leicester if he set his foot within the kingdom: however, the legate advanced as far as Bologna, where he manifested his resentment against the Earl and his adherents; but, not thinking it safe to trust his person in England, he returned to Rome, where he was soon after elected Pope by the name of Clement the Fourth.

[o] One of these commissions is printed in Brady's Appendix, vol. I. N° 210.

[p] Their names appear in Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 1. and 2.



opinions have been controverted by Mr. Petit, Mr. Tyrrel, Mr. Hody, and the late lord Lyttelton. But, without entering into this contest, it may be remarked, that, since the time of the earl of Leicester's administration, the right of the Citizens and Burgeſſes to ſit in Parliament hath never been questioned; although the Commons were not regularly ſummoned to Parliament for many years afterwards.

It may not be improper to obſerve, that Pope Urban the Fourth, by his Bull dated 5 kal. Aug. 1263, revoked the Grant of Sicily to prince Edmund; and his ſucceſſor, Pope Clement the Fourth, granted the ſame to Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis king of France. Upon the 6th of June, 1265, the king, whiſt he was in Leicester's power, iſſued a commiſſion to ſeveral perſons therein named, to renounce the kingdom of Sicily in the name and on the behalf of him and his ſon Edmund [7]; and Leicester afterwards cauſed that renunciation to be notified to the Pope by a letter from the king. Indeed, that earl was obliged in honour to take theſe ſteps, as he and ſeveral of his adherents had bound themſelves by an oath not to make peace with the king until he had renounced his pretenſions to the kingdom of Sicily. But prince Edmund had ample amends for the loſs of that kingdom; for, upon the 4th of Auguſt, 1265, his brother Prince Edward, having defeated Leicester and his adherents at the battle of Eweſham, the immenſe eſtates of that earl, together with thoſe of Robert Ferrers, earl of Derby, John of Monmouth, and others, were given to prince Edmund, who was created earl of Lancaſter, Leicester, Derby, and Campaigne. Theſe vaſt poſſeſſions laid the foundation of the future greatneſs of the Houſe of Lancaſter; the power and influence of which increaſed to ſuch a height, that Henry of Bolingbrook, being

[7] Rymer, vol. I. p. 815.



too powerful for a subject, deposed his cousin-german king Richard II, and mounted the throne of this kingdom. And thus, in the person of prince Edmund, were originally founded the great contentions which long subsisted between the two Houses of York and Lancaster.

WITH respect to the Seal of prince Edmund as king of Sicily, I find, that upon the 8th of the kalends of June, 1254, Pope Innocent the Fourth issued his Bull, authorizing this prince to fabricate a Royal Seal for the affairs of the kingdom of Sicily [r]. Edmund, in his letter to the Sicilians concerning his reception, seems to allude to a particular Seal which was known to them. The letter is printed in the Foedera [s], and concludes in these words, “In cujus rei testimonium presentem literam AUREA BULLA NOSTRA fecimus consignari. Dat. apud Windes. 13 kal. April. “A. D. 1261.”

[r] *De Magni Sigillo fabricando pro Regno Siciliae.*

“INNOCENTIUS Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in Christo filio  
“Regi Angliae illustri, salutem & apostolicam benedictionem. Ut eo simus,  
“quod tibi sit cordi, negotium quod in persona carissimi in Christo filii nostri  
“Edmundi, Regis Siciliae illustris, natu tui, assumpsisse dinosceris, certiores quod  
“idem rex, assumptae dignitatis fastigio, reddiderit de tuo bene placito se insignem,  
“desideramus & volumus regalem magnificentiam attente rogantes, quatinus pro-  
“tinus jubeas, quod idem rex statim *sigillum regium faciens fabricari*, nobis  
“infra Festum Beati Michaelis proximo venturum, quod assumpto negotio ex-  
“presse consentit, significet suis patentibus litteris regiis bulla aurea communis;  
“tuque similiter infra eundem terminum super hoc, & quod id de tua voluntate  
“procedit mittas nobis tuas patentes litteras in quibus nomines ipsum regem.  
“Dat. Aquis octavo kal. Junii Pontificatus nostri anno undecimo.”

Vide Rymer Foed. vol. I. p. 513.

[s] Vol. I. p. 720.



It was customary for princes to make use of Seals of Gold upon extraordinary occasions; several of which are now remaining in the Chapter-house at Westminster [1]. Some of these are of solid gold perforated with holes to admit the strings or labels by which they are appendant; and some, like the present, are composed of two lamina of gold laid upon wax, and closed on the edge, so as to appear like a piece of solid metal.

UPON the obverse of this Seal, the prince is seated upon a throne, holding a sceptre in his right hand, and in his left an orb surmounted by a cross; the legend,

“Eadmundus Dei gratia Sicilie Rex!”

UPON the reverse is a shield charged with the arms of England, and the following legend,

“Eadmundus natus Regis Anglie illustris.”

It may at first sight seem singular, that Prince Edmund should assume the royal arms of England, without any mark of cadency thereon, in the life-time of his father; but, when it is considered, that this was a royal Seal fabricated for him as sovereign of a kingdom wherein his father had no jurisdiction, the propriety of omitting the label will be obvious; which mark of distinction he observed when he sealed as a subject of England. There are in the duchy office, and in the college of arms, several charters of this prince as earl of Lancaster, Leicester, Derby, and lord of Monmouth. I have also a grant of prince Edmund in my collection, to which is appendant a Seal, having the following legend, “Edmundus Filius Regis Anglie Dñs Monemute.” The Seals appendant to the charters above alluded to are of green wax, each having an Escutcheon

[1] Several of these Seals are of exquisite workmanship. Some of them are engraved in the Foedera.



of the Arms of England, with a label of three points. It was not until about this period of time that this kind of Heraldic distinction was used.

THERE is in the possession of Thomas Barrett of Canterbury, Esq. a piece of gold [*u*] weighing fourteen pennyweights and twenty-two grains, impressed from the matrix of, or cast from, my Seal, which seems by the form of the letters upon it, as well as from the workmanship, to have been made in England.

AN ingenious member of this Society [*w*] supposes Mr. Barrett's piece to have been a coin struck by the authority of prince Edmund, and that the same ought to be placed in the series of our English gold Coins, and must have been intended to have been current here as his money, and serves to fill up that gap in our gold cabinets which intervenes between the reign of William the Conqueror, and the 41st of king Henry the Third. But, with all possible deference to his judgement, I beg leave to differ with him in opinion upon this occasion, for the following reasons:

1. BECAUSE I do not find the least mention of such a coin in any of our Historians.

2. BECAUSE I cannot suppose that Henry would have wantonly increased the murmurs and complaints of his people, by permitting his son to coin money as king of Sicily, and allow

[*u*] This piece hath been exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, and my friend the Reverend Mr. Beauvoir of Canterbury informs me by letter, "that, by a crease on one part of the edge, it seems as if it had been joined together: it doth not ring, but sounds as if hollow."

[*w*] The Reverend Mr. Pegge. See his Dissertation read before the Society, May. 20, 1773.



the same to be current in this kingdom. Such a step would have produced no other effect, than that of rendering him more odious to his subjects.

3. BECAUSE there would be an obvious impropriety in imagining that such pieces could be struck for the payment of the annuity or fee farm to the Pope; that rent charge by the stipulation abovementioned being two thousand ounces of pure gold or bullion without allay. So that the expence of coining this tribute was unnecessary; especially when it is considered, that the stamping of bullion gives it no additional value in a foreign country.

4. BECAUSE it is not probable that these pieces were struck in England for the payment of the Pope's army in Sicily, as a piece of Standard gold coin, weighing fourteen pennyweights twenty-two grains, would (in the purchase of necessaries for an army) have been equal to near forty pounds of our present money, and therefore a moment's reflection will evince, that a piece of coin of so great a value would have been intirely useless for such a purpose. And,

5. BECAUSE the Seals of solid gold which I have seen appear to have been struck from the matrixes in the same manner as Coins are now impressed, and the holes through which the strings or labels pass, affixing them to the instruments, seem to have been perforated after the impressions were made upon them.

THEREFORE, in whatever point of view I consider Mr. Barrett's piece, I cannot suppose it to have been a coin. Upon the whole, I believe Mr. Barrett's piece either to have been a cast from my Seal, or that it was intended for a Seal which was



*by the Grant of Sicily to Prince Edmund.*

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was never affixed to any instrument, as there are no holes made through it for such purpose. I am, with great truth and regard, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

and obedient Servant,

Battersea Rise

Feb. 15, 1776.

THOMAS ASTLE.





[ 212 ]

XIX. *Of the Wisdom of the Antient Egyptians; a Discourse concerning their Arts, their Sciences, and their Learning: their Laws, their Government, and their Religion. With occasional Reflections upon the State of Learning among the Jews; and some other Nations.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Nov. 30, 1775.

To the Rev. WM. NORRIS.

SIR,

Cambridge, Nov. 7, 1775.

THE progress made by the antient Egyptians in Arts and Sciences, beyond other nations their contemporaries, had been much insisted on by various writers, and by some chiefly with a view to depreciate the characters of Moses and the Israelites. But a very ingenious writer, the late Robert Wood, Esq. in a posthumous work of his, lately published [a], has given his opinion, and some reasons for it, that “the high  
“ compliments which have been so long paid to the knowledge  
“ and wisdom of the antient Egyptians have not been so well

[a] An Essay on the original genius and writings of Homer, 4to. 1775.

“ founded



“founded as is generally imagined [b].” The subject, indeed, is only incidentally handled by Mr. Wood; which it is to be wished he had treated more at large, as few men could be better qualified for it than himself. It is of great importance on many accounts, and deserves a particular discussion; such a discussion, we are assured, was given to it by the celebrated Dr. John Woodward. This gentleman has hitherto been chiefly known to the learned world by his writings in one branch of natural history, and his theory of the universal deluge, in support of the truth of that great event, as recorded by the Jewish legislator. But Dr. Woodward did not confine his opinion of Moses’s veracity to this particular transaction; but being himself, upon mature examination, convinced of the truth of all the other great events which are recorded in the Pentateuch, he very laudably undertook to convince others. Accordingly, he formed a very extensive plan for the defence and support of the Jewish Lawgiver, against the formidable attacks that had been made upon him. Some specimens of this great undertaking are given by Mr. Holloway, in his translation from the Latin of *Dr. Woodward’s natural history of the earth illustrated, enlarged, and defended* [c]. He has also given the titles of several distinct treatises which composed a part of this plan; one of which is, “Of the antient Egyptians, a discourse concerning their arts, their learning, and their religion, with occasional reflections on the state of learning amongst the Jews, and some other nations [d].” In this, besides other things, says Mr. Holloway, the Mosaic institution is vindicated; and the charge of Sir John Marsham [e], and Dr. Spencer [f], that some parts of this institution were taken from the Egyptians, is refuted.

[b] P. 118.

[c] 8vo. 1726.

[d] P. 108.

[e] Chron. Canon. Saec. 9.

[f] De Legib. Hebraeor. l. iii.

Now,



Now, Sir, it has so happened, that this treatise, written out fair, and seemingly prepared for the press, is fallen into my hands, being communicated to me by a gentleman who has very frankly given it up to my disposal [g]. To this learned Society I as freely communicate it, thinking it not unworthy their attention; and, if it shall be found to deserve a place in their memoirs, I shall esteem myself fortunate in having been in any degree instrumental in rescuing this learned tract from oblivion.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

M. L O R T.

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*Of the Wisdom of the Antient Egyptians.*

I H A V E here laid open a scene that is very unpleasing, and shewn mankind in a state extremely low and mean, under mighty difficulties and distresses. This, indeed, I had given some intimations of in a former discourse [b], and have now made the thing out more at large; pleasing myself with the hopes that there will come a time in which I shall have leisure and opportunity of doing so to all parts of that discourse, for which I have long had the materials in readiness. As I have here exhibited the dark side of the globe, I am sure I could with far greater satisfaction shew that which is luminous and

[g] Mr. Herbert, of Cheshunt.

[b] Nat. Hist. of the earth, p. 55, and 94, 2d edit.

bright,



bright, set forth the first appearances of science in the world, and trace her thorough all ages and climates. But as this is what my present subject does not require, so neither will my affairs give leave to pursue it. Yet a few brief sketches I can hardly forbear giving here; and shall rejoice to see some fit hand exert itself to the finishing of the piece. It would be a work, as of mighty importance and advantage to the world, so of vast pleasure to him who should perform it. And this is not a task for a declaimer, or vender of meer words, but for a person of genius and real knowledge; one who is thoroughly apprized of history, and the transactions of mankind in all ages; who is a master of the subject he treats of, and has a real understanding of the arts, and of the sciences, of which he writes; and one who has a true knowledge of nature, and a deep insight into things. Such a one will see that nature has been steady, invariable, and alike, thorough all ages; the earth and its productions, the water, the air, and heavens, ever the same. But, as the soils in the several parts of the globe are very different, likewise are the productions there, the fruits, and herbage. Nor do they vary only in kind: but those of even the same sort differ in strength, in goodness, and perfection. The animals that feed and live upon these differ too. This is, indeed, only a consequence of that, and what nobody can well wonder at. Nor is it to be imagined that even mankind, that, in the various parts of the earth, subsists upon those very vegetables, and animals, can be exempted from a like difference. No; assuredly the inhabitants of each country partake of the good, or ill, the happiness or unhappiness of it. And there is no man, that is conversant in the world, but must observe that the people of some countries are considerably superior to those of others, in constitution, in stature, in strength,

in



in courage, and even in genius, in capacity, and abilities of mind. The things all depend wholly upon causes that are fixt and permanent. But then there are others that are accidental and uncertain, that have a great influence upon sciences and arts, and are the cause that they vary and alter much, even among the same people, and in the same country. Such are the changes and revolutions of empire; the genius and disposition of the prince, and of men of figure and fortune in the commonwealth; the nature of the government; liberty or oppression; peace or war; the particular gusts and inclinations of persons that are stirring, active, and have an influence upon the people; different maxims and opinions in religion, in policy, and in philosophy, that happen to prevail; the various sorts of entertainments, recreations, and ways of pleasure, that are in fashion; and the different modes of study, *e. gr.* of philosophy, antiquity, history, oratory, poetry, or philology, that happen to obtain and come in vogue. All these ought to be exactly attended to, and well weighed, by one that would know the true springs that set things in motion; in order to the rightly conducting himself in the compiling a history of science. If the brief landscape, I am here about to give of the wisdom of the Egyptians, may contribute any thing towards it, I shall not think the few hours spent in the drawing wholly misapplied.

EGYPT is a country assuredly very happy, sending forth all things useful to human life in great plenty and perfection; and this too without much labour or culture, the Nile, in its yearly inundations, depositing a slime upon it that renders it fruitful beyond measure; so that the inhabitants have scarcely any thing more to do than only to scatter a little grain upon the land, and, without further trouble, they have a return in great abundance. It is hardly credible what vast numbers of people have been supported



supported in this country in great plenty and luxury, and it was inhabited very early. The Egyptians, indeed, were here much in the same state, that mankind were before the universal deluge [i]. Their country was vastly productive, and with little or no labour or toil. In truth, the consequences and effects in both cases were much the same; and the Egyptians were not perhaps inferior in vice and immorality [k] to the unhappy people of the ages before that dismal catastrophe [l]. But this fruitfulness of their country allowed them time and leisure for thought and study, for improvement of science and arts. While their neighbours, on every side, were at great pains upon their much more barren soils, and their time taken up in making provision for the support of life, the Egyptians had little or nothing of that sort to do. This gave them a mighty advantage over the countries all round; and it is not to be wondered that they had the start of them as to science, and had very anciently a great reputation for their superiority in learning. But we shall have a truer and more certain idea of the learning of those times, when we know of what size this was, that was so much admired by all the neighbour nations. For I cannot assent to the common opinion that there was ever really any considerable learning among the Egyptians. It might indeed be thought such by the Cyrenians, Arabians, and the inhabitants of the other barren countries round about, where the people had enough to do to procure meat and cloaths, and had little leisure to attend to study or the improvement of the mind. And the great plenty, luxury, and opulency, that strangers,

[i] Nat. Hist. of the Earth, part ii. p. 83. et seqq.

[k] V. Herodot. l. ii. c. 48, 49, 60. 89. et III. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 801. a. Ammian. Mar. l. xxii. c. 16. alios.

[l] Nat. Hist. of the Earth, p. 85. et seqq.



the Greeks, and others, saw in Egypt, made them imagine there was somewhat very extraordinary in the thing, and that the Egyptians were masters of some mighty knowledge, by means of which, they were intitled to that superiority and those advantages over all their neighbours; whereas in reality they were all owing wholly to the goodness of their country. Then they had a very high opinion of their own nation, and the vanity to think the rest of mankind besides very weak, illiterate, and meer children [*m*], in comparison of themselves. They were the most ostentatious, boasting [*n*] people in the universe, and every body was forward enough to imagine there could not be all that outcry without something at the bottom very considerable to warrant it.

BUT what most favoured the opinion of their learning were the Hieroglyphic figures that appeared on their obelisks, their pyramids, and other monuments, on every side. They talked of wondrous matters that were couched under those representations; in which they could not be contradicted by the Greeks, who travelled into those parts, or other foreigners, who knew little or nothing of the meaning of them. They might gaze and admire, but must be much in the dark as to what they imported, the sculpture being not only rude, but done in a manner much different from that of Greece. As to the Egyptians,

[*m*] Ventosa et insolens natio. Plin. *de Aegyptiis* in Panegyr. p. 350. a. Aegyptii viri ventosi, furibundi, jactantes, injuriosi, atque adeo vani, &c. Fl. Vopiscus in Saturnino, p. 718.

[*n*] Αἰγυπλίαις μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι. Herodot. l. ii. c. 121. Conf. etiam c. ii. τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπριακόν, ἐκ φύσεως καὶ διαφερόντως, ἐστὶν ὑπέραυχον. Philo Jud. *de Agricult.* 196.

I am the son of the wife, Isai. xix. 11.

—Became vain in their imaginations, professing themselves to be wise; Rom. i. 21, 22.

they



they only carried on a vain amusement, and aimed meerly at the aggrandizing and extolling the riches, the power, and the wisdom of their own nation, having little regard to fact. This is evident from the very accounts they gave of these things. The Hieroglyphicks upon the obelisks were the most considerable; and some of them interpreted these as setting forth matters of *religion* [o]; others of *philosophy* and *nature* [p]; others of history, and the *riches, power, victories, and actions* of their *princes* [q]. The very obelisk which these last take upon them to interpret, I mean that of Rameses, is at this day in being; and, after all, the gravings upon it apparently set forth only something of their religion, and the sacred animals [r]. Among the rest, there are, in the several parts of this pillar, representations of above fifty owls, and almost double that number of serpents. What these could ever possibly denote of *victories, riches, and power*, it will, I believe, be no easy thing to find, whatever the vain-glorious humour of the Egyptian priests might prompt them to give out; but it is known to every body in how much veneration those animals were had, and how great a figure they made in the religion of the Egyptians. It will be thought perhaps strange by those who are less conversant with these things, that there should be so great numbers of these, and other animals, upon the same pillar: but it is what is very common in all these works, in the obelisks,

[o] Obeliscos—Antiqui reges—Diis superis in religione dicarunt. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 5.

[p] Rerum naturae interpretationem Aegyptiorum opera philosophiae continent. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 9.

[q] Sacerdos Aegyptius ap. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 60. Hermapion ap. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 4. et Strabo, l. xvii. p. 816. c.

[r] ἱερά ζῷα. Manetho ap. Josephum contra Apion. l. i. p. 1053. d.



the canopi [s], and other idols, the shrouds and swathes of the mummies [t], and other remains of that nation. The design was partly to express their great devotion to those creatures, and partly to make a shew in their gravings or paintings. It was not unusual with them to exhibit great numbers of the same animals all together, and all figured in the very same manner [u]; by which they could design nothing but meer shew and ornament, such as it was. The obelisks, the gravings of which are very much alike in all, commonly exhibit, towards the top, one of their chief deities, generally Osiris; with the figure of a priest before him, kneeling, and making some oblation. This is usually represented in the same form precisely, on all the four sides of the obelisk. For the rest beneath, there is usually expressed a great number and variety of the sacred animals, *e. gr.* the Lion, Apis, Mnevis, Hawk, Ibis, Crocodile, Scarabaeus, and several others; but all set forth in the most disorderly, wild, and unskillful manner that can well be imagined. In fine, whoever shall consider the sculpture upon the Mensa Isiaca, upon the obelisks, and other like monuments, and the painting upon the shrouds and bandages of the mummies, will plainly discover that they only represent the Egyptian deities, Osiris, Isis, Horus, Apis, and the rest; the rites and solemnities of their worship; the utensils and instruments used in their sacrifices; their religious pomps [w] and proces-

[s] V. Canop. ab Ant. Lafrerio ed. Rom. 1547. et alium ap. J. J. Boissard. Antiq. tom. vi. tab. 6.

[t] V. Nardium in Lucret. tab. iii. fig. 1.

[u] V. Nard. ib. fig. 2. et alios.

[w] Harum egregiam descriptionem concinnavit Cl. Alexandr. Strom. l. vi. p. m. 633. V. Pompam Isiacam in Marm. Antiq. Romae ap. Jac. Spon. Miscell. Eruditae Antiquitat. p. 306. De ιεροφόροις et ιεροσολοις, confer Plut. de Isid. et Osir. p. 352. b.



tion. [x]; and the sacred animals. These, with here and there a rude scrawl, according to the fancy of the Designer, to fill up a vacancy, and the exorcisms and charms upon the shrouds of the mummies, are the main things that are set forth in that vast variety of the Egyptian works, that have been brought to light by the diligence and curiosity of this and the last age; and it is plain from the accounts of the ancients, those that are perished and destroyed were of the like sort. So that any one who shall go about to make a symbolical construction of these, as Diod. Siculus [y], Plutarch [z], Clement Alexandrinus [a], the author under the name of Horus Apollo [b], and some other of the Ancients have done, to pass by the voluminous and fanciful works of J. Pierius [c], N. Caussin [d], F. Kircher [e], and some later writers, may, with full as much reason, make the like interpretation of the *Ἀνάγλυφα* and Basso-Relievos of the ancient Greeks and Romans, or the History-paintings of Raphael, M. Angelo, Rubens, or M. Le Brun. A view of the things themselves will soon shew any one that the design of these Egyptian sculptures and pictures was chiefly to give an historical representation of the religious customs of that nation. Nor can it be thought strange there should be such numbers of these, to any one who knows how infinitely superstitious the Egyptians were above all other people. But then this way of expression

[x] De Deorum *Κωμασίαις*, v. Clem. Alexand. *Ζτρωμ.* l. v. p. 567. et Th. Gale. V. Cl. in Not. ad Iamb. de Myst. p. 252, 253.

[y] Bibl. Hist. l. iii.

[z] De Isid. et Osir.

[a] *Ζτρωμ.* l. v. p. 566. et seqq.

[b] *Ἱερογλυφ.* l. ii.

[c] Hieroglyphica.

[d] De Symb. Aegypt. Sapientia.

[e] Oedip. Aegypt. et. Obelisc. Pampili.



was tedious, difficult, and much inferior to that which now obtains in China. For though this was originally the same with the Egyptian, yet the Chinese rendered it by degrees much more practicable and expeditious. At first they made use of only a few of the out-lines of the drawing to represent any thing by. Afterwards they reduced these to characters, designing them to denote words. At length they hit upon a method of making a connexion of them, by somewhat that answered to the particles in speech. Thus by degrees they found out a way of setting forth a language, and this was truly symbolical. But that was an advance far beyond what the Egyptians had any prospect of. And yet, with all that improvement, this method falls far short of that of letters; it carries on learning very slowly, as will appear hereafter when I come to speak of the state of it in China. And I think it is by this time pretty plain, that, stript of its varnish and amusement, the Egyptian method of propagating and delivering knowledge down, was vastly more defective than even the Chinese.

I know well that the Egyptians, in their wonted boasting manner, and pretences to things of which they were never really masters, bragged they had letters. This we learn from Herodotus [f]. But there is not in history, nor any of all their numerous monuments yet remaining, so much as a single instance of any one letter, till the antient Greeks came amongst them. For want of these, how highly soever they might boast, they had no records of their nation, their kings, or the transactions amongst them. Nothing but a mere loose tradition. This is the reason that their antient history is so fabulous, and so much in the dark, beyond that of almost all other nations;

[f] ii. 36.

and



and that we know little or nothing of them, with any certainty, till after the Greeks came among them.

As little is there to be said for the sense and virtue of the Egyptians. I believe there can be not any one single instance produced of either in all their whole story. If they had any, they would have shewn it when their country was the hardest pressed, when it was attacked by foreign enemies, and their lives, liberties, their families, their country, and every thing that was dear to them, was at stake; as on occasion of the descent of Cambyfes, of the Greeks, of the Romans. The Egyptians, on these great urgent occasions, far from concerting measures for the defence of themselves and their country, acted ever rather like men wild and distracted than possessed of any thought or reason, so that they fell an easy prey to any invader. Cambyfes took Pelusium, the very key of Egypt, by putting cats, dogs, sheep, in the front of the army; the Egyptians immediately laying down their arms, and choosing rather to give up their whole country to their utter enemy, a foreigner, a tyrant, than risque the hurting their cats, or any of the sacred animals. At their final reduction by the Romans, the several provinces were engaged in a very fierce war about their gods, a dog, a lion, a crocodile, and the rest, which was to have the preference, and be reputed the superior deity: till the Romans partly beat, and partly laught them out of that so foolish strife, having easily made themselves masters of their country, and got their persons, and all they possessed, in their power.

NOR had the Egyptians really any reputation for wisdom but during those times that their neighbours were savage, and had none. While the inhabitants of Greece and the other more barren countries were wholly taken up in search and toil  
for



for food, and the common necessities of life, Egypt, being rendered exuberantly fruitful by the yearly inundations of the Nile, and productive of those necessities without any considerable labour, the Egyptians had time on their hands, which the neighbour nations wanted, to consider of methods of living. They therefore formed themselves into communities, settled under a government, built houses, such as they were, improved on the common diet, acorns, chesnuts, and such things as grew chiefly upon trees and shrubs, by finding out better fruits, bread-corn, and other things. They made cloaths; fell, by degrees, into some little practice of art and embellishment, painting, and sculpture. The Greeks, all this while, were wild, dwelling in caves and woods. Some of these, happening to make excursions into Egypt, long after Moses and the Israelites had dwelt amongst, and much improved, the Egyptians, seeing there vast numbers of people, and a so much different face of things from what they had left at home, fell into loud acclamations of the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*. But, taking from them hints of all these things, and methods of life, they soon, not only came up to them, but so vastly exceeded them, that, in theirs, there hardly remained any footsteps, or the least shew of their first patterns. I have not now time to set forth the histories and particular facts, and therefore shall content myself with leaving here that brief but excellent sketch that Horace, who as well understood those antient times as any man, hath left us of the state of things, in Greece, before Orpheus, and Amphion, travelling into Egypt, brought thence back those rudiments of arts, and knowledge, which were afterwards successively improved in Greece, to so incredibly great a degree, above the Egyptian originals, which they themselves never exceeded.



Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum  
Caedibus, et victu foedo, deterruit Orpheus;  
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigreis, rabidosque leones.  
Dictus et Amphion, Thebanæ conditor arcis,  
Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda  
Ducere quo vellet. Fuit hæc Sapientia quondam,  
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis:  
Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis:  
Oppida moliri: leges incidere ligno [g].

BUT how much soever the Grecians and other nations might afterwards surpass and outstrip them, the *Cry of the Wisdom of the Egyptians* being once raised, and spread about, the notion of it was still kept up; and many living at a distance in other countries, so as to know nothing in reality of the Egyptians, fancied them, for a long time afterwards, to be wiser than their neighbours. Nay some there are, particularly that famous Atheist Jordano Bruno [b] Nolano, and others of like libertine principles, who bear no good-will to Christianity, knowing how much this is built upon Moses, do not care to have it thought his writings came from god, but from Egypt. These therefore extoll the Egyptians beyond measure, decry the Jews, and vilify that nation, their archives and laws, as meerly of Egyptian extract; an attempt as groundless, as vile and dangerous. Though there are very many that are, I do not say that all concerned are directly in this design, or perhaps are well apprized of the consequences of it.

BUT, if arts flourished among the Egyptians to the height that some imagine, this must needs be apparent in the remains.

[g] Hor. de Arte Poet.

[b] Spaccio della Bestia trionfante, 8vo. p. . . .



of their works. Or if they were possessed of so great a share of learning and wisdom, it could not but discover itself in their actions and conduct, in their sense and in their doctrines, in their life and manners. This is the true and proper standard by which we may judge of this question, and it is to this that I would have recourse for the determining of it.

THERE are now few other remains of their buildings but the pyramids. These are unquestionably the most ancient fabricks in the world, and their having stood for so many ages is an undoubted proof of their strength and firmness. Not but that the benignity of the air there contributes much to their preservation. They have seldom any rain, or moist weather, to injure or annoy them, and are wholly free from the vitriolic and other salts that arise with the smoak from our coal fires, and so greatly prey upon and endamage our buildings [i].

SOME

[i] The Newcastle coal, which is the chief fuel in London, contains in it a considerable quantity of vitriol; which being thus, in form of smoak, buoyed up into the atmosphere, whenever there is any considerable fog, or humidity in it, this vitriolic matter immediately liquifies, and so constitutes a sort of menstruum, which, hovering about and lighting upon the bodies within its verge, frets and erodes those that are liable to be wrought upon by it. This it is that makes the efforts we see upon our buildings; causing the iron work to rust and shiver, the stones to moulder, and in time to fall to pieces. It is now known to be this likewise, that, along with the air in which it is dissolved, entering the lungs, contributes greatly to the coughs that are so frequent here, and is very troublesome and offensive to those persons that are phthifical, asthmatic, or labour under any indisposition of the lungs. And they suffer more from it when the fogs are the thickest, and there is the greatest quantity of this floating low and in the region of the atmosphere wherein they breathe. Nor does any thing give them the relief that a brisk wind does, by its dissipating and removing this matter. Its effects are indeed proportioned to the quantity of it. Where the houses stand thick, and the hearths are many, these effects are so much the more quick and sensible. **Some of the churches** built since the fire, that are in the throng and center



SOME of the pyramids, and one in particular, shew something in their fabrick that is truly very stately and great. And indeed the Greeks, and others who travelled anciently into those parts, agreed that *these Works must needs be allowed by far the most considerable of any in all Egypt* [k]. Nay the Egyptians themselves thought so very highly of the performance of the Architects that built them, that they were wont to declare they

center of the city, have already suffered more from these erosions than the Banqueting house at Whitehall, that is built of the very same sort of stone, and has stood three times as long. That therefore this, so noble a pile, is likely to stand firm, and a great while, is what will be reflected upon with pleasure by those that think this, of the sort, the finest piece of architecture in England. At the same time that all the well-wishers to History and Chronology cannot but greatly regret it should so unhappily fall out, that the Marmora Arundelliana and other ancient monuments brought from Greece and Anatolia, and now repositied at Oxford, have suffered more in seventy or eighty years there, than in perhaps two thousand in the countries from whence they were first fetched. But these vitriolic salts are not so detrimental to the buildings here, as our frosts sometimes happen to be. It is known that water in freezing expands itself, taking up a sensibly greater room than before, and its expansive power is so great as to force all obstacles; nor do we know any body strong enough to resist it. And therefore whenever a building is exposed to rain, and frost follows, the water that happened to light in the joyntings and intervals of the stones, in freezing, distances and enlarges them, and that which sunk in the pores bursts and shatters the stone; but this more or less, answerably to the laxity and porousness of the stone, to the quantity of the water, and the depth that it penetrates. Upon this account it is that builders are so careful in covering their stone work, and securing it, as much as may be, from the fall of rain. Now there falling very little rain in Egypt, and it being besides a country so excessively hot as not to be subject to frost, it being likewise not liable to the other inconvenience, the vitriolic salts in the air; we have a very assignable reason, to say nothing of the great hardness of the stone and marble there, why their buildings have endured so long, and stood firm thorough so many ages.

[k] Ὁμολογεῖται δὲ τὰντα τὰ ἔργα πολὺν προέχειν τῶν κατ' Αἰγύπτου. Diodor. l. i. p. 58. c.



were much more to be *admired* than the *princes* that were at the *expence* of those works [1]. It being therefore agreed on all hands, that the pyramids were by far the most considerable of all their buildings, I shall fix upon these as a sample of their skill in this art. And indeed there is nothing that deserves the name of architecture in the whole frame of any of them: a great many very vast stones, placed indeed very firmly upon one another, and in such sort as to contribute greatly to the strength and duration of the pile, but without any consideration of ornament or beauty; the whole speaking much more the industry and labour of the undertakers, than their ingenuity or contrivance. For as to the particular structure of the pyramids, the foundation is square, consisting of four equal sides. Upon these are piled several tire or ranks of squared stones, placed upon each other in such manner, that the upper approach nearer the axis of the whole than those underneath; and so gradually lessening, each side drawing closer still and closer, till they all join and terminate finally in a point: a pile the most plain and simple that can well be imagined. For the rooms within, they are dark and ill contrived. The ceiling or coverture of them is made by large stones passing quite cross from side to side, and resting at each end upon the opposite walls, which probably was the only way of coverture that they had any notion of. At least Diodorus, describing another of their most celebrated buildings, takes particular notice that *it was topt with only one stone* [m]. They seem not at all to have been apprized of the strength, beauty, or convenience of arch-work, any more than of the method of forming it. In truth, as to

[1] Diodor. *ibid.*

[m] Μονόλιθος ἢ ἀροφή. Diodor. l. i. p. 60 b.



the pyramids, there appears so little workmanship or art in the whole, that I do not by any means think it strange that, when these works came to be scanned and considered by a nation that were judges, and that had so many vastly fairer patterns of architecture in view, they should pronounce these piles *barbarous* [n] and uncouth, and think the money expended in the raising of them very *idly* [o] and *indiscreetly* employed. So mistaken were M. Belon [p] and H. Conringius [q], in judging the pyramids preferable to all the works of Greece and Rome.

AFTER these, the labyrinth was thought one of the most considerable of the Egyptian structures. And, by their accounts, it seems to have been a very vast pile indeed; but very wild, rambling, and without any good design. Pliny [r] calls it a *most portentous work*, and such truly it was. Not, as Pinitianus observes [s], on account of any art or *ingenuity* to be discovered in it, but of the great *expence* of the building. Though as to that, the country was ever incredibly populous, and there were hands in such numbers as would soon execute almost any practicable design. So that we are not to wonder at the greatness of any of their works; and indeed that is not the subject of this enquiry, but the judgement and understanding of the architects. What that was, may be learned from Strabo [t], who declares *the workmanship of the labyrinth like that of the pyramids*, of which enough has been said above.

[n] Barbara Pyramidum fileat miracula Memphis. *Martialis*, l. i. Ep. 1.

[o] Pyramides in Aegypto Regum pecuniae otiosa ac stulta ostentatio. *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 12.

[p] Observ. l. ii. c. 42. et de Op. adm. l. i.

[q] De Herm. Med. c. xii. p. 122.

[r] Portentosissimum opus, l. xxxvi. c. 13.

(s) Not. in Loc.

[t] Λαβυρίνθου καλῶς τεκτονικῆς, ὡς αἰσίων τῶν πυραμίδων ἐστὶν ἔργον. l. xvii. p. 811. a.



THEIR temples were likewise usually very great, but every thing confused, barbarous, and ill-contrived in them. This is very plain from Strabo [u], who had been in the country, and is pretty full and particular in his account of them. To pass by what Diodorus [w] and Hecatoeus [x] say of the buildings of Heliopolis, especially the great temple there, as carrying no great appearance of certainty, one of the most extraordinary of all was that of Minerva at Sais. Herodotus [y] speaks of it with some admiration, not because of the excellence, but of the vastness of the work, and the huge bigness of the stones that compiled it. Near the entry of it was an edifice, twenty-one cubits in length, fourteen in breadth, and eight in height, the whole consisting of only one stone. There will be no great difficulty to a man of sense to pass judgement what their skill in building was who engaged in such a work as this, how great soever their labour and industry might be. They were indeed very great, if this edifice was, as the Egyptians pretended, in their usual boasting strain, brought from Elephantine, which is in their account distant twenty days sail from Sais.

As to their private *houses*, they made them anciently of only reeds [z]; nay Diodorus [a] informs us, that such were in use among the meaner sort of people, even in his time: nor were there any that were considerable in all the country. The same author expressly avers, of the people here in general, that they were wont to be at [b] *very little care or pains in the structure of their houses*. At the same time he tells us they

[u] L. xvii. p. 805, 806.

[w] L. i. p. 43, 44.

[x] Ap. Diodor. ib.

[y] L. ii. c. 175.

[z] Οἰκίσεις, ἐκ τῶν καλᾶμων καλᾶσκευάζεσθαι. Diodor. l. i. p. 41. b.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας καλᾶσκευῶν ἥττον φρονίζουσιν. Diodor. l. i. p. 47. d.

thought



thought they could never be at too much in the building and adorning their *sepulchres*: which can never pass for any other than a mighty paradox among men of sense, to be so negligent of their houses, on the contrivance of which so much of the happiness and convenience of life depends, and spare no labour or expence upon their tombs, which are of no manner of real use. In a word, whether we reflect on the remains of them that are extant at this day, or the accounts that the ancients have left us, both of the public and private buildings of this country, it is most certain little can be collected in favour of the Egyptian skill in architecture.

NOR have they been more successful in their carving and imagery, though this was what they were much practised in; and a great variety of their works of this sort is extant to this very time. If they had any skill, to be sure they would shew the utmost of it in carving and forming their idols, and the images of their Gods [c]. This was a mighty employ among them; and no nation in the universe used such multitudes of these in their temples, in their houses, and in their coemeteries, as the Egyptians did; which I believe will hardly pass for a proof of their judgement and sagacity. Of these there are great numbers in being at this day, of stone, of several sorts of metal, and of *argilla*, preserved in the cabinets of persons curious in antiquities. I have seen several of them, and have some now by me in my own collection. Icons likewise of many of them have been published by the writers of Egyptian history, and the editors of museums [d]; amongst all which, there never appears

[c] Τῶν Θεῶν ἑῶνα. Manetho ap. Joseph. c. Apion. l. i. p. 1053. d.

[d] Varias Idolorum Aegyptiorum Icones exhibuerunt,

J. B. Cafalius, de veterib. Aegypt. ritibus; &

A. Kircher, Oedipus Aegypt. Tom. iii. Synt. 17.



appears one single figure that shews any thing of art or good work. Their limbs are stiff, and ill-proportioned; their bodies awkward, shapeless, and far inferior to the life. Nor were the formers of them wanting only in art and performance, for their very design was bad. No people living had ever so enormous and perverse a fancy as they appear to have had. They really aimed at something that was hideous, deformed, and monstrous; a beast, or a fowl, with the head and face of a man; the head of a dog, or some other brute, of an hawk, or the like, upon an human figure [e]. Such were the *κυνόκεφαλοι*, the *ἱεραίουμορφοι*, the *Θεοὶ ἀποδροπαῖοι*, Sphynxes, and some others; of which there are several instances in Kircher, and the rest just now mentioned. They seem to have affected what was ugly and irregular, as much as the Greeks, the Romans, and others, who had something of spirit and a genteel fancy, did what was handsome, well-proportioned, beautiful, and like nature. So that we are the less to wonder that a Roman historian, who knew so much better, should speak of them with the utmost slight and contempt [f]. In like manner in their historical or

L. Pignorius, *Mensa Isiaca*.

G. Cuperus, *Harpocrates*.

J. Nardius, *Animadv in Lucretium*.

Oët. Ferrarius, *De re vestiaria*. Par. ii. l. 2. c. 7.

Donatus, *Roma vetus et recens*.

Ol. Wormius, *Museum*, p. 348.

Cl. du Moulinet, *Cabinet de la Biblioth. de S. Genevieve*, p. 7. et seqq.

*Museo Cospiano*, l. v.

*Museo Moscardo*, l. i.

[e] *Aegyptii effigies compositas venerantur*. Tacit. Hist. v. 5. Conf. Porphyr. *περὶ ἀποχρῆς*. l. iv. § 9. p. 259. a.

[f] *Decorum Simulachra, Regum Statuae, monstrificae effigies*. Plini. N. H. l. xxxvi. c. 13. p. 657. *agens de Labyrintho Aegyptio*. Et *Lactant*. *Portentificas Animalium figuras colerent*. De Orig. Erroris, l. ii. § 13.

hieroglyphic



hieroglyphic gravings, upon their obelisks, and other monuments, every thing is flat, stiff, and ill finished. It is plain, from what discovers itself every where, they were very poor masters in the art of design, or drawing; and it is most certain that such could never be good painters. This may be determined with great certainty, even at this distance, though there were not one scrap of their paintings now in being. But yet some there are upon the shrouds and bandages of the mummies brought from thence; and these shew us, that their performance in this was nothing better than in graving, and the statuary art.

AFTER such a representation of their buildings as the great distance from those times would allow, and of the state of the arts made use of for adorning them, sculpture and painting, it may not be amiss to add something concerning their manner of providing for the securing their persons against the injuries of heat, the air, and weather, by their dress and habits. And these were likewise very rude and mean. There are vast numbers of persons exhibited in their marbles, and monuments; of which, many are quite naked, and several with only a slight cincture reaching from their waist to their knees. Nay, those that are best cloathed have their garments extremely strait and scanty, just fitted to their bodies, without any thing handsome or becoming, any thing in the least to adorn or set them off. They seem to have had no manner of notion of habits, like the *Paludamentum*, the *Toga*, or the other truly noble and graceful dresses of the Greeks and Romans. And yet in these monuments, there are frequent representations of Osiris, Isis, and the rest of even their principal deities, of the priests, who were of the royal family, or at least persons of the first



rank and note among them; which, without question, were all attired in the best manner and fashion of the country.

It will, I know, be thought by some, that I do not do the Egyptians justice, unless I make some acknowledgement of their art in preserving their dead bodies so sound and intire, as we see they are, thorough so many ages. This, therefore, I shall not neglect saying something to, and much will not be needful. And first, it will not be improper to look a little into the reason that induced them to take all this care and pains about the dead. They were of opinion, that, upon the death of any person, the soul, quitting the body, transmigrated into some other. That, upon the decease of this likewise, it betook itself still to another; and so on, till it had passed all creatures, belonging both to the air, the sea, and land [g]; when, after a revolution of three thousand years, it returned to the body that it first abandoned, entering and habiting it afresh. This doctrine will, I believe, hardly be insisted upon as an instance of the Wisdom of the Egyptians, any more than the practice of that nation in pursuit of it. For they only took care to preserve the hulk and outer parts of the body, whilst they drew out the brains, the bowels, and intrails, all except the heart and kidney, and cast them away to perish and rot [b]. So that the soul, at its return, must be forced either to take up a body that was destitute of brains, and the greater part of the bowels; which surely would have afforded it but a very indifferent habitation, or else it must have these reframed to its use and furnished forth anew; and then nobody will be well able to imagine why the

[g] Herodot. l. ii. c. 123.

[b] Diodor. l. i. p. 82. Herodot. l. ii. c. 86. Porphy. de Abst. l. iv. § 10. Sextus Empir. *πυρρών*. l. iii. c. 24. p. 156. c.

rest.



rest of the body might not as well have been framed by the same means, without all this trouble of preserving it, and, in truth, but in a very sorry manner after all. If it be confined to the use of such limbs and members as it will meet with under the Egyptian shrouds, it will have very miserable instruments to work with, and such, indeed, that will be so little serviceable to the ends of life, motion, and action, that it were as well to have none; and all the labour of the embalming is just to no purpose at all. But to wave all this, and consider a little the manner of it, we have some of these mummies before us, and may see in what sort they are preserved. Besides, Herodotus [i], Diodorus [k], and others of the Antients, that had been there, and made their observations upon the Egyptian conditure, have given us an account of all the drugs made use of, and the whole process of the ordering the body. In which, bating the ceremony and solemnity that was peculiar to this nation upon all occasions, there was nothing that was considerable or extraordinary. Nor indeed is it so much owing to their skill, or method of conditure, that these bodies endure sound and entire through so many ages, as to the warmth, the dryness, and goodness of the air in that country. When once they are removed thence, and transported to other parts, they are apt enough to decay, unless great care be taken of them. And I myself saw here a mummy, brought formerly out of Egypt, that, after it had been for some time in our more humid air, began to corrupt and grow mouldy, emitted a foetid and cadaverous scent, and in conclusion putrified and fell to pieces.

It is now high time that I put an end to this article, relating to the Egyptian arts, which I shall do, after I have added only

[i] L. ii. c. 86.

[k] L. i. p. 81. et seqq.



a few lines concerning their Musick. The Egyptians were a people very luxurious, and addicted to pleasure above all other nations [l]. And that good musick affords an entertainment extremely pleasing and agreeable, is what has been allowed by men of the better sense and taste in all ages. If the Egyptians were such, and apprized of the excellency of this art, we may reasonably expect instruments of all the better kinds, in perfection among them. But so far were they from this, that the sistrum, their most celebrated instrument, was much more likely to fright or offend a man of sense, than please or gratify him. This is plain, from the descriptions that Plutarch [m], and Apuleius [n], have given of it. Besides, there are several of these sistrums still extant, preserved in the cabinets [o] of men of learning and curiosity, as also figures and representations of a great many more upon ancient marbles and medals [p]. The construction of it is such, that it is not possible to play any thing like a tune upon it. Most certainly the noise of it is so hideously jarring, so harsh, and untuneable, that I have not heard of any thing so rude among any the most savage and uncivilized people in being. And yet it was in great vogue, and request there, being in very frequent use upon all occasions, in their wars [q], at their funerals [r], in the feasts and pomps,

[l] Josephus *Ἀρχαιολ.* l. ii. c. 5. sub initio.

[m] De Iside et Osir.

[n] Metamorph. l. xi.

[o] In Museo Fr. Gualdi Romae, v. J. Oisselii Thesaur. Numismat. p. 566. Tab. ii. 7. Dans le Cabinet de Ste. Genevieve. Cl. du Moulinet, p. 7.

[p] Confer Bacchini, l. de Sistris, 4to.

[q] Patrio vocat agmina Sistro. Aeneid. viii.

[r] Sistra iuventia luctus. Lucan. l. viii. p. 210. a.



of Isis [s], and at their sacrifices and highest solemnities. The Mythologists generally assert that the *Harp* was invented in this country. They tell us that Mercury, finding the shell of a dead Tortoise, upon the shores of the Nile, fitted strings to it, and so composed that instrument. Such a one would make something better musick than the Sistrum, though truly not very much. Besides the *Harp*, Strabo [t] mentions *Pipes* as used in their sacrifices, which Herodotus [u] does also, and *Castinets* [x] upon another occasion, which probably were all the musick they had, and these last far from good, as may be inferred from their so much preferring the Sistrum. Yet there were infinitely better in use in those times. It appears from the Book of Psalms, that they had all the while in Judea, several of even the best sorts of musical instruments, very antiently. But it is certain that country had made great progress in science, and in the arts of use in life, of ornament, and of pleasure, long before any other in the universe, and whilst even the nations all round were much in ignorance, distress, and darkness.

I PASS ON now to enquire into the state of science among the Egyptians, to see whether they were more successful in the prosecution of that. In order to which, I shall consider their laws, their history, their philosophy, their physick, their geometry, and their astronomy.

[s] Per tua Sistra precor— *Atque mox—*

Et comes in pompa corniger Apis eat.

Ovid. *Amorum*, l. ii. El. 13. ad Ifidem.

—Quum pompa pependit.

Atque ipsa Ifiaco certarunt fulmina Sistro. *Manilius*, l. i. in fine p. 29. a.

“Sistrum sacerdotes Ifidis portant.” Vet. Scholiast. in Juvenal. Sat. v. 136.

[t] L. xvii, p. 814. c.

[u] L. ii. c. 48.

[x] Κρόταλα. ib. c. 60.

Br



By the way, I shall say something of their religion, a thing that was ever judged of that high importance that all wise nations have been of opinion they could not possibly bestow too much care in the settlement of it. If the Egyptians did so likewise, we shall have little reason to entertain any mighty thoughts of their judgement and understanding. Since their religion was undoubtedly the wildest and most fantastic that the sun ever saw; and, in setting it forth, I shall be obliged to lay open a scene that cannot but be very surprizing. They were, above all other nations, so sunk in idolatry, that they seem to have known little, if any thing, of God, to whom they owed their being, and all the good and happiness they enjoyed. It is most certain there was no where less acknowledgement or regard paid him in their religion by the most savage people all round the globe. And that precept [y], *to have no other Gods before the true and only God*, was very necessary to the Israelites, who were then newly brought out of the Land of Egypt, where they had seen such numerous instances of the worship of so many false and imaginary ones. Nor need we now much wonder why this comes first, and stands in the very front of the decalogue.

THE Egyptians paid a mighty worship all over the country [z] to their ancient princes [a], the first founders of the kingdom: to Osiris [b], who was the same with Hammon, and with Ham, the son of Noah, who immediately after the transaction at Babel came down in person and settled here: to Isis his wife, and Horus their son. They were, from all antiquity, extremely fond of the notion of the transmigration of souls, and would

[y] Exod. xx. 2, 3.

[z] Herodot. l. ii. c. 42.

[a] Ibid. c. 144.

[b] Diodor. l. i. p. 49.



have it, that Osiris, after his death, transmigrated [c] into an Ox. Upon this account it was that all Egypt ever worshiped this creature [d] with the highest pageantry and solemnity. To this purpose, to pass by that of Heliopolis, they kept a living ox at Memphis, which they called Apis. They dedicated temples to his service; indeed the most considerable in all the country. In these he lived, and was fed, and hither the people resorted to receive oracles [e] from him. He had great numbers of priests continually present, being set apart wholly for his service, and they too of the highest rank and quality in the kingdom, some even of the royal family. Besides which there were great numbers of boys singing hymns to the honour of him [f], as also lictors, and other officers, in continual attendance. Whenever he came forth, and shewed himself openly to the people [g], there was an universal joy, every body appeared in the greatest splendour, and a festival was solemnized thorough the whole country. The time of his birth was yearly celebrated with no less solemnity, for seven whole days together [h]; and, when he happened to dye, all Egypt went into mourning [i], his body was embalmed, interred in the most solemn manner they could devise, and they were under the highest consternation and anxiety till they had found

[c] Diodor. l. i. p. 76. e.

[d] Bos in Aegypto etiam Numinis vice colitur, Apim vocant. Plin. l. viii. c. 46. p. 557. e.

[e] Plin. l. viii. c. 46. p. 558. b. Pausan. l. vii. p. 579. d.

[f] Plin. l. viii. c. 46.

[g] ἐπιφάνεος. Herodot. l. iii. c. 27.

[h] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 15. p. 260. e. Conf. Plin. l. viii. c. 48. p. 558. e. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. p. 13. d.

[i] Plin. l. viii. c. 46. p. 558. a.



out another like creature of the same colour, and with the same marks that the former had. In fine, an ox was their principal deity, and this the highest worship in all the country.

THIS ox was adored thorough all Egypt [k], as were also dogs and cats, the ibis, hawk, lepidotus, and Oxyrrhineus [l]. Indeed all the animals that were produced throughout the whole country, were reputed *sacred* [m], and all of them worshiped [n] in some place or other. Even those that were enemies to human nature [o], and of all others the most noxious and injurious to the people. Lions [p], bears [q], wolves [r], crocodiles [r], and serpents [s], were all *adored* here, fed, and treated with great observance. Of this last species of divinities surely they had no want, since *Egypt produced serpents without number*, which were *extremely venomous and fierce*. The advocates of the Egyptian theology, who are wont to put this practice of the worship of animals upon a principle of gratitude, and say the inhabitants paid them that regard because of the good and benefit they received from them, will hardly find that the worship of these last-mentioned comports well with that notion. But yet

[k] Apis populorum omnium numen est. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. 13. d.

[l] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 812. c.

[m] Herodot. l. ii. c. 65.

[n] πάντα τὰ ζῶα σέβουσιν. Porphy. de Abst. l. iv. 155. b.

[o] Bestias adversantes naturae colitis, multa diligentia nutrientes. Rufinus Josephi interpretes, l. ii. c. Ap. p. 10. 65. b.

[p] Porph. ibid. p. 154. e.

[q] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 67.

[r] Diodor. l. i. p. 74. b. κροκοδείλων ἀποθέωσις. ibid. 80. a.

[s] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 74. Minutius Fel. Oct. p. 267. Philo Bibl. ex Sanchon. ap. Euseb. Pr. l. i. c. x. Serpentes—Aegyptus alit innumeras, ultra omnem perniciem faevientes. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 15. p. 262. c.



so high was their devotion to these creatures, though thus mischievous and pernicious, that they thought *those* persons. *who were bit by asps*, the most poisonous of all serpents, or *seized and devoured by crocodiles*, *very happy and acceptable to the deity* [t]. Besides those animals already recited, there were others that were likewise adored there, as eagles [u], cows [x], monkies [y], goats [z], and sheep [a]. And since these last were worshiped in that country, it can never be thought strange that every *shepherd* should be an *abomination to the Egyptians* [b]. It is the proper employ of shepherds to propagate sheep, and fat them for slaughter: a thing that must needs be detestable to a people who allowed them priests for their attendance, who adored them, and were so very far from being brought to kill them, that they would not so much as taste of mutton or of kid; at the same time that man's flesh was an allowed dish among them, and what nobody there had any need to scruple.

— Lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis  
Menfa. Nefas illic foetum jugulare capellae  
Carnibus humanis vesci licet [c].

It was for the same reason, that *the Egyptians might not eat with the Hebrews*, that being *an abomination to the Egyptians* [d].

[t] Eos, qui Aspidibus mordentur, et a Crocodilis rapiuntur, felices et Deo dignos arbitrantur. Rufinus Interpres Josephi, l. ii. c. Apion. p. 1065.

[u] Diodor. l. i. p. 78. d.

[x] Diodor. ib. p. 77. e.

[y] Juvenal, xv. 4.

[z] Diod. ib. 78. e. Strabo, l. xvii. 802. b. Herod. l. ii. c. 46.

[a] Diod. ib. p. 77. e.

[b] Gen. xlv. 34. Conf. I. M. Dilherri Disp. Philolog. tom i. p. 110. I. C. Dieterici Antiquit. Bibl. to. i. p. 23. 136. et seqq. et Bochart. Hierozoic. l. ii. c. 53. p. 644.

[c] Juvenal, Sat. xv. 11.

[d] Gen. xliii. 32.



For, as an ancient writer observes, *the Hebrews eat those very animals to which the Egyptians paid a religious reverence* [e]. But to proceed. At *Anubis* they adored a *living man*; where were *altars* erected, and *sacrifices* offered to him [f]. That one man should fall down and worship another, deport himself to him as a god, and consult him as an *oracle*, which Minutius Felix [g] assures us was *done* there, would be surely very extravagant any where but in *Egypt*; where a *great part* of the country, among their other remarkable *deities*, *worshipped* also *beetles* [h], one of the vilest and meanest of all insects: and where beans, vetches, leeks, onions, and even *cheese* [i], were revered as so many gods.

Though the Egyptians were all agreed as to the divinity of some animals, such as dogs, cats, bulls, and the rest recounted above, yet this was not the case with regard to the worship of the rest; particularly of the crocodile, the eagle, the goat, and several others, some of the towns making choice of one kind of animal, and some of another. Nay, so greatly did they differ, that the animal that was adored in one place was killed and offered in sacrifice to that which was worshipped in another. This laid a foundation of mighty heats and feuds, and even of civil wars, among them [k]. Implacable squabbles, wranglings, and disputes, there were perpetually betwixt one town and an-

[e] Pecus, quod Aegyptii colunt, Ebraei comedunt. Onkelos ap. Dieter. ib. p. 138. Conf. etiam Bochart. l. ii.

[f] Porph. *ἐπὶ ἀνὸχ*. l. iv. p. 155. Conf. Theodoret. Orat. c. Graec. 3.

[g] Octavius, p. 281.

[h] Aegyptii magna pars scarabaeos inter numina colit. Plin. l. xxx. c. 11. p. 322. e. Conf. Porph. l. c.

[i] Minutius Fel. Oct. p. 278. Diodor. l. i. p. 80. d. Plin. l. xix. c. 6. Sex. Empir. *συρρὸν*, l. iii. p. 156. e. Plutarch. de Iside, p. 353.

[k] Plutarch. de Iside, 380. b. Rufinus Interpres Josephi c. Apion. l. ii. p. 1065. d.



other, whose was the better god, and which the truer religion: each would have their own to be the proper object of adoration, despising and hating that of their neighbours. And such was their zeal in this important affair, whether a wolf or a bear, a monkey or a goat, a serpent or a crocodile, was the most preferable deity, that the rabble on each side were frequently engaged in fights, for the decision of that controversy. Especially the inhabitants of *Ombi*, who worshiped crocodiles: and they of *Tentyra*, who did all they could to destroy and extirpate them, as the most troublesome and dangerous creatures in all the country [k].

Inter finitimos vetus, atque antiqua simultas,  
Immortale odium, & nunquam sanabile vulnus  
Ardet adhuc, Ombos & Tentyra. summus utrinque  
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum  
Odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos  
Esse deos, quos ipse colit [l].—

PLUTARCH tells us, that in his time the people of Cynopolis, who worshiped a dog, having made bold with a fish of the kind they called *Oxyrynchus*, killed and eaten it, the inhabitants of *Oxyrynchus*, who adored that fish, in revenge caught all the dogs they could find, killed, sacrificed, and eat them in like manner. This gave rise to a war betwixt those two towns; in which great damage and loss was sustained on both sides. Nor could they be brought to any peace and agreement, till the Romans, who were then masters of the country, came upon them, chastized, and beat both into better sense and manners [m]. These enmities and differences about religion were ever great,

[k] V. Salmafii Exerc. Plin. ad. Solin.

[l] Juvenal, Sat. xv. 33.

[m] Plutarch. de Iside, p. 380. b.



and observed in all ages by those who traveled into the country-[*n*]. There was scarce a general agreement in any thing; and, as Sextus Empiricus well observes, what passed in some of their temples for most profound *sanctity*, was reputed in others the highest impiety [*o*]. Which, as the same author there justly remarks, was because their notion of what was *pious*, and what not, was wholly imaginary, and not by any means real; nor had it any the least foundation in the nature of things. The dispute should not have been whether a goat or a crocodile was the more proper object of worship; but whether any of them had any title to it. And indeed when the Greeks, and other strangers, began to enquire of them into the reasons of this sort of religion, they were ever greatly at a loss for any tolerable reply. Nor need we much wonder that no two of them could agree in the reasons they assigned, when in truth none of them could have any at all for so very foolish and absurd a practice. Diodorus [*p*] has, with a great deal of care and pains, set forth the reasons they gave to the best advantage, and in the best light they were capable of; and among them all there is not one that will abide any scrutiny. All that by my own enquiries I could ever make of this matter was, that the opinion of the transmigration of the soul antiently obtained among the Egyptians; and that they, fancying that the souls of the first founders of their nation, their progenitors, and benefactors, passed into the several creatures of that country, worshiped them upon that account. This first gave rise to the thing, and posterity continued the practice even after the tradition of the cause

[*n*] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 812, 813. Clem. Alexand. *προτερηλ.* p. 25.

[*o*] "Α γὰρ ἐν τίσιν ἱεροῖς ὄσια, ταῦτα ἐν ἑτέροις ἀνόσια. Sextus Emp. *ὑπὸν.* l. iii. p. 155. d.

[*p*] l. i. p. 17. et seqq.



of it was worn out, and without knowing really for what end they did it. Which indeed Diodorus [q] himself gives some intimation of, even though he and his countrymen were great admirers of the Egyptians; and were wont to put the best and most favourable construction they could upon all their transactions.

NOR did they thus, *beyond all measure*, worship only the animals that were living, but even the dead too [r]. Nay they had every where images of them for their adoration. Strabo tells us, the image in their several temples was no where in shape of a man, but some sort of animal or other; and this probably it was that drew upon them that rebuke of the satyrist,

Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam [s].

AMONGST the rest they worshiped the figure of an ox, in imitation of which doubtless the *molten calf* [t] in the wilderness was made by the Israelities; who had seen so many instances of like sort in Egypt, out of which they were so lately retreated. It was assuredly in opposition to that unreasonable custom that the second precept of the decalogue was framed; not to make any graven image, or likeness of any thing in hea-

[q] Ibid. p. 81. b.

[r] Σέβονται γὰρ ἕνα τῶν ζώων Αἰγύπτιοι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν, ὃ ζῶντα μόνον, ἀλλ' καὶ τελευτήσαντα. Diodor. l. i. p. 74. b. Natio Aegyptiorum turpissimas bestiarum & pecudum figuras colunt. Laëtan. Div. Instit. l. v. c. 20. Ἐόανον ἐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν αἰόλων ζώων τινός. l. 17. p. 805. e.

[s] Juvenal, xv. 8. Per Canem Anubin intelligit, quem canino capite effingebant, vel quemvis alium. Lubin. in loc. De Fele Plinius, Oppidum Rhodata, in quo felis aurea pro Deo colebatur. l. vi. c. 29. p. 375.

[t] Exod. xxx. 4. Conf. Philon. de Vita Mosis, p. 677. c. et Selden de Dis Syris, Synt. i. c. 4.



ven, the earth, or the water, to bow down and serve [u]; and that the Jews were forbidden to make gods of silver and of gold [x].

THEIR address to the sacred animals, and the treatment of them, was very extraordinary. They had *priests* in great numbers, attending their service [y]; and these likewise of the highest rank and quality in all the country. They put up *prayers* [z], and made *vows* to them for the preservation or recovery of their healths, as there happened to be occasion; and also during great heats, pestilence, or other public calamities [a]. These creatures were possessed of the most stately *temples* of Egypt; which were likewise set off with gold, with silver, and the noblest furniture that could be invented. Their bodies were attired and adorned with the finest and richest cloths. They were wont to have *hot baths* provided for them; to be anointed with the sweetest ointments; and censed with the most fragrant *incenses* and perfumes [b]. The people *adored* and *worshiped* [c] them wherever they found them; and this in the most public manner, as a thing very glorious and honourable; many of them, when they went abroad, in a sort of ostentation, carrying with them *marks* and *insignia* of the animals they revered, or were under their *care* and *administration* [d]. And the creatures they thus worshiped being males, they took great care

[u] Exod. xx. 4. 5.

[x] ib. v. 23. Conf. etiam Philon. Decalogo, p. 756.

[y] Diodor. l. i. p. 75. e.

[z] Εὐχας, Diodor. 74. c.

[a] Plutarch. de Iside, p. 380. c.

[b] Diodor. ib. p. 76.

[c] Προσκυνεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν. Diod. ib. p. 74. e. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 65.

[d] Ibid.



to procure them the finest and *handsomest* females [d] they could, of the same kind, to serve them as *concubines* [e]. The whole country, all except Thebais, was under a perpetual and standing tax, for the maintenance of the sacred animals [f]. They made plentiful provision of all sorts of *meats*, for *cakes*, *sweetmeats*, *flesh*, *raw*, *boiled*, *roasted* [g], for the entertainment of the dogs, cats, and the rest that would eat such meats. For others, as the bulls, sheep, and the like, they had *grain*, *hay*, *grass*, and *pasture*, provided for them. Each of those that were worshipped had a field dedicated peculiarly to them, and set apart for their repast [h]. It was, by the laws of Egypt, *death* for any man to kill one of these creatures wilfully [i]. Nay, if a *cat*, or *Ibis* [k], happened to be killed, though accidentally and without design, the person that did it was sure to be murdered immediately by the rabble, in the most cruel manner, without ever staying for any legal process for his condemnation [l]. To avoid which, and out of mere fear of such a fate, whenever any man happened to find either of these creatures dead, he was wont, before he came near it, to cry out with great *lamentation*, and protest he found it *dead* [m]. Nay, so deeply implanted in their minds was this superstition, and so obstinate were they in it, that Diodorus avers he was an eye-witness of a tumult about a Roman soldier's killing of a cat by mere acci-

[d] 'Ενεδισάτα ib. p. 76. b.

[e] Παλλάκιδας. ib.

[f] Plutarch. de Iside, p. 359. d.

[g] Diodor. ib. 76. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 65.

[h] Diodor. l. i. p. 74. c.

[i] Ibid. 74. c. et Herodot. ib.

[k] An hawk, or Ibis. Herodot. ib.

[l] Diodor. ibid. 75. a. Conf. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. p. 13. c.

[m] Diodor. ibid.

dent,



dent, which the king himself could hardly appease; though all were sensible that this might exasperate the Romans to the destruction and subversion of the government, and that they at that very instant were seeking an occasion of a breach and quarrel, in order to the subduing and reducing it under the power of Rome [n]. And during the time of a famine in Egypt, which was so extreme that the inhabitants killed and eat up one another, not a man would be brought to touch one of the sacred animals [o]. Nor is that the only instance, that they were more tender of these brutes than they were of mankind: No, they were wont to kill men, and offer them in sacrifice. This the ancient Greek writers assure us they did; though a thing the most barbarous and inhuman that could be thought of. I know Herodotus [p], who is an apologist for this nation, and is forward to believe the best of it, is not willing to admit this; but he was no judge, the custom being abolished by Amasis long before his days. This we learn from Manetho [q], a writer of their own nation, who assures us that this cruel custom was in use there till the reign of that prince. That they did really offer human sacrifices anciently is likewise confirmed by Diodorus [r], Plutarch [s], Minutius Felix [t], and others. This great superstition of the Egyptians, and their mighty regard to the sacred animals, afford a reason why Moses, when the king commanded him to *sacrifice to God in the land*

[n] Diodor. Ibid.

[o] Ibid.

[p] L. ii. c. 45.

[q] Ap. Porphy. περὶ ἀποχρῆς l. iv. p. 94. a.

[r] L. i. p. 79. c.

[s] De Iside, p. 380. c.

[t] Octavius, p. 293.



of Egypt, replied—*It is not meet so to do, for—shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians, before their eyes, and will they not stone us [u]?* He was to kill and offer oxen [x], sheep, and other creatures that the Egyptians worshiped, and could never propose to do it there without hazard of life, and falling under the fury of the Egyptian rabble. That this worship of brutes had obtained there in those times is very certain, and what Manetho [y] himself allows, even though he was an Egyptian, and a professed advocate of that nation. Nay, Josephus carries it much higher, and asserts it was the *common custom of the country from the very beginning [z]*. Indeed it prevails to this day in some parts of Africa, and particularly among the savages of Guinea, where they defend it with no less zeal than the Egyptians of old. This the English found to their misfortune at their first settlement at Fida on those coasts, where a serpent being got accidentally into their house, and they killing it without thinking any farther harm, the natives were so much provoked and enraged at an action they thought so highly sacrilegious and impious, that they fell upon them, murdered them all, and burnt their house with all the merchandize in it [a]. Nay, so lately as in the year 1697, an hog happening to kill a serpent, the whole country was immediately in an uproar, and the priests got an edict of the king for extirpating the whole breed of hogs out of the country, which was so effectually put in execution by many thousands of the Negroes,

[u] Exod. viii. 25, 26.

[x] Bos quoque immolatur quem Egyptii Apim colunt. Tacitus, de Judæis, Hist. l. v. c. 4. Conf. Bochart. Hierozoic. l. ii. c. 53. p. 644. c.

[y] Ap. Josephi. i. c. Apion. p. 1053. a. g.

[z] κοινὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ πατριὸν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. ibid. p. 1051. f.

[a] G. Bosman, Voy. de Guinée, Let. xix. p. 402.



that very few of them escaped [b]. But to return to the Egyptians—When any of the sacred animals chanced to dye, their mourning and lamentations were excessive [c]. Upon the death of a *cat*, all those that dwelt in the house where that happened, shaved their *eye-brows*, as they did their *head* and *whole body* upon the death of a dog [d]. They bewailed the loss of them as greatly as that of their nearest relations, with shrieks and beating of their breasts, and were usually at a vast expence upon the funerals, sometimes much beyond their abilities [e]. In fine, they embalmed them with their richest and most fragrant drugs, wrapt them up in fine linen, and finally deposited them in the sacred sepulchral vaults [f].

THERE was a practice that had obtained in Egypt, which must needs be very surprizing, if any one thing can be thought so among people where every thing was so preposterous and astonishing. In time of any great *drought* caused by extreme heat of the weather, which in that climate is sometimes such as to be hardly supportable, or when the country laboured under any *raging distemper* or other public *calamity*, they took some of the *animals* they *worshipped* aside in the *dark*, and there first *menaced* and terrified them, in order to oblige them to remove the *calamity*. But, if that did not cease in a little time, they fairly knocked them on the head and *slew them* [g]. This was very plain dealing with them indeed; but men less bigoted and superstitious would have been apt to infer that

[b] G. Bosman, p. 408.

[c] Herodot. l. ii. c. 66. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. p. 13. c.

[d] Ibid.

[e] Diodor. l. i. p. 74. e. 76. b. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 66.

[f] Diodor. l. i. p. 17. e. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 66.

[g] Plutarch. de Iside, p. 380. c.

those



those creatures that could not secure themselves against such menaces and insults, were not over-likely to secure their votaries against those calamities they were pressed with, which were assuredly more remote and more out of their power. But indeed a little thought and reflection would soon have spoiled all, by discarding and putting an end to all the parts of so very foolish a worship [b]. Nor was this the only absurdity committed by the Egyptians in the performance of their worship. At Papremis many of those that came to the temple were wont to bring with them clubs of wood, and there were usually present above 1000 persons. As soon as the sacrifices were performed, and the offices at an end, they fell upon each other with such fury and violence, that Herodotus, who happened to be present, and a spectator of one of these religious frays, avers, he was not able to imagine but that many of them must dye of the bruises and wounds they received. When he came to enquire into the meaning of this riot, the account they gave him was, that the mother of Mars formerly dwelt in that temple; and he, when grown to man's state, coming hither to lie with her,

[b] It may not be wholly foreign to take notice, that in China they have to this day a custom not very unlike that set forth above. When they are to enter upon any undertaking of importance, they first apply to their idols, and make them promises of great oblations if they succeed, and entreat them to favour and to be auspicious to the enterprize. To find out the disposition of the idol, they cast lots before it. In case the lot proves right, all is well; but otherwise they fall foul upon the idol, traduce it, call it *dog*, *villain*, and all the ill names they can muster up. Then they cast lots again; and, if in conclusion they fall not right, they fling the idol down, whip it, beat, roast it at a fire, and use all the indignities to it that they can invent, till the lot becomes affirmative, when they speak the idol fair again, and make a feast with great offerings to it, singing, and musick. Gonçalez de Mendoça, Hist. del gran Reyno de la China, l. ii. c. 4.



her attendants, not knowing him, refused to let him enter. upon that, he got several persons from the next town to his assistance, beat the attendants, and so made his way to his mother by force. In memory of which this fight was performed there yearly upon the day dedicated to the honour of Mars [i]: a procedure very becoming those devotées, and fitly suited to such an original. And the same historian was likewise present at a festival of Isis, in the city of Busris; at which was a concourse of several thousand men and women: where, after the sacrifice was over, they were all whipt; but *in what manner*, out of meer modesty, *he thought not fit to declare* [k]. There past indeed very frequent and some very strange obscenities in their worship [l]. Amongst other trinkets they were wont to carry *φάλλοι* and *αἰδοῖα* in the pomps of Bacchus [m], and of Osiris [n], as worthy of *divine worship* [o]. So that it was not without just cause that several of the ancients declared the Egyptians *adored some things as Gods* that they might well have *blushed to name* [p]. But as this is a subject upon which I care not how short I am, so I shall dismiss it after I have given only one instance more; which is, that when, after the decease of Apis, they had found out another ox with the like marks, and brought him with wondrous rejoicings and mighty pomps to Memphis, he was there attended for forty days only by *women*,

[i] Herodot. l. ii. c. 63, 64.

[k] τῷ δὲ τύπῳ ἵσται ἑμοὶ ὁσιόν ἐστι λέγειν. Ib. c. 61.

[l] V. Diodor. l. i. p. 78. e.

[m] Herodot. l. ii. c. 48, 49.

[n] Plutarch. de Iside, p. 355. e. 388. b. 365. b.

[o] Δείας τιμῆς. Theodoret. Ser. iii. c. Graec. p. 51.

[p] Quaedam etiam pudenda dictu tanquam Deos adorant. Lactant. de Justitia, l. v. p. 485. Ita quoque et Theodoret. l. c.



who were wont to present themselves before him; and, to give the test in the words of the author, *δεικνύειν ἀνασπαράμεναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν γενήματα μάλα* [q]. Other transactions of like sort were observed by Herodotus, which were so immoral, that, partly out of modesty, partly out of a peculiar partiality and favour to that nation, he designedly concealed them, as he intimates upon several occasions [r].

It will not be very much beside the present subject, to take notice how universally fond the Egyptians were and addicted in all ages to charms, magic, sorcery, divination, and other like vain arts [s]. Then for their *Περίσπῳα*, amulets, and other superstitious toys of that sort, they had them without end. There are great numbers of them extant in the cabinets all over Europe to this day [t]; and I myself have a considerable variety of them by me. The Scarabaei cut in onyxes, cornelians, emeralds, and other like stones, are of all the most common. Pliny tells us, they fancied these, if *hanged about the necks of children*, to be a mighty *preservative* to them [u], and that they had likewise a power to *keep off hail, and locusts*, by means of a prayer that is added, which they shew actually graved upon them [w]. The hieroglyphic delineations that are upon

[q] Diodor. l. ii. p. 76. e.

[r] L. ii. c. 47, 48. 132, &c.

[s] Vid. Gen. xli. 8. Exod. vii. 11. Isai. xix. 3. Herodot. l. ii. c. 49. Diodor. l. i. p. 66. d. Plutarch. de Iside, p. 366. e. Porphyg. *περὶ τῆς ἐκλογίῃς φιλοσοφίας*, ap. Theodoret. Ser. iii. c. Graecos.

[t] Conf. Kircheri Oedip. Aegypt. To. iii. Synt. 19. L. Pignorium, Cupe- rum, & reliquos supra allegatos.

[u] Infantum etiam remediis ex cervice suspenduntur. Plin. l. ii. c. 28. de Scarabaeis. Conf. Salmasii Exercit. in Solin.

[w] Grandinem quoque avertere, et Locustas precatione addicta quam demonstrent. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 9. p. 734. c.

several



several of the Scarabaei are very probably what Pliny takes to be the *prayers* that they *exhibit*. F. Kircher, who has given figures of several of these, has fixed a very different interpretation upon them [x]; but, indeed, neither he, nor Pliny, seem rightly to have understood any thing of them.

SUCH was the religion of Egypt; such the practice there in things sacred and divine. What judgement a man of sense will pass upon it, it is not difficult presently to determine; nor will it be unseasonable to look a little into the sentiments of the ancients, and what opinion those who had been spectators and present, *e. gr.* the Persians of old, the Greeks, Romans, and others, had of this matter. For the Persians, they thought as meanly, and with as much scorn, of the Egyptian religion as could well be. So did the king himself, Cambyfes, who, in his descent into that country, stabbed the ox, Apis, with his own hands, and very justly *derided* the folly and stupidity of the *priests* [y] that attended him, in making choice of what he shewed them to be *flesh* and *blood*, nay a meer brute, for their principal deity. He greatly *ridiculed* and *exposed* their *idols* [z] as truly silly and despicable, beating several of them down, burning and destroying them. This was a thing reputed extremely flagitious by the priests there, and a very high profanation and sacrilege. Nor had they any other way to revenge themselves of him, but by giving out, after he had quitted the country and was gone, that he was distracted and struck with a sort of divine infatuation [a]. Which yet one of

[x] Oedip. Aegypt.

[y] Γέλασας τὰς Ἱερείας, &c. Herodot. l. iii. c. 29.

[z] πολλὰ τῷ γάλματι κατεγέλασε. ib. c. 37. & infra πολλὰ κατασκήψας.

[a] Herodot. l. iii.



his successors, Artaxerxes Ochus, so little regarded, that he did not stick, in like manner, to kill their brute idol, Apis: nay he offered him in sacrifice, and finally with his friends and followers eat him up [b].

THE Greeks were ever forward to entertain a favourable opinion of the Egyptians. Indeed Egypt, being a very rich and plentiful country [c], was settled into a method of government and discipline, and some appearance there was of art there, some time before any considerable advance was made towards either in Greece. This Thales, Solon, Melampus, Homer, and others who first travelled thither, well observed, and returned back very full of the praises of the Egyptians, which was an encouragement to others to visit that country, and it was thought a mighty accomplishment in a Grecian to have made the tour of Egypt. To give them their due, the Egyptians were never wanting in setting their own affairs forth to advantage; and the Greeks were disposed to credit all that was offered, and to make the best constructions of every thing they observed. So much, indeed, that in after-times, when the Greeks were become infinitely superior to the Egyptians in knowledge, the former studied to put a good cover and varnish upon all deformities that occurred among the latter; and, whatever they found otherwise than was fit and reasonable, they ever took care to set it in another light, to put some handsome gloss upon it, and to represent it as it ought to be. This is so very evident throughout the whole narratives of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch, that no man can peruse them without observing instances of it every where. A man of sense will

[b] Plut. de Iside, p. 355. c. 365. c. Aelian. var. Hist. l. iv. c. 8.

[c] Vide supra.

hardly



hardly have patience to read the tales and stories which the Egyptians told Plutarch [d] of their religion and their gods, Osiris and Isis, of Typhon and the rest: they were so very wild, ridiculous, and absurd, and withal so contradictory, that there could hardly possibly be one word of truth or probability in any of them. They apparently carry more of the air of dreams, or the rhapsodies of men under a frenzy or distraction, than of sense or reality. This Plutarch saw well enough; but he casts about to mend the matter, by supposing them to be, I know not what, disguises and covers, of somewhat that was of different import and consideration underneath. He interprets all these, as several later writers have done, mystically and symbolically, and turns all they told him to a *natural* and *moral* meaning, supposing that the *natural history* of the *elements* and the formation of all sorts of *bodies* were couched under that jargon. Whereas it is manifest from his own account that the Egyptians were serious, and their relations simple, nor did they intend any thing other than they plainly and openly declared. This he could not but see demonstration of on every hand. What he observed in the next temple, at the next sacrifice, the next procession or religious solemnity, would give him proof enough of it; indeed, their whole religion was founded intirely upon it. Nay he is not able to deny but that, by their worshipping *animals* as *gods*, they *not* only exposed religion to scoffs and derision [e], but likewise laid a foundation for the most wretched sort of *superstition* among the more simple and weak people, and of *Atheism* among those that were hardy and bold. Nor can any

[d] Lib. de Iside et Osir.

[e] ὁ γέλωτος μόνον, ὃ δὲ χλευσμὸς καταπεπλήκασι τὰς ἱερουργίας. De Iside, p. 379. e.



man well wonder that Diodorus, when he is relating the particulars of their religion, should freely confess it was *difficult for those who had not seen them to believe one who should set them forth* (f); so very absurd they appear through this whole account to be, and so different from what was then practised among the Greeks and other the most sensible and civilized nations.

AMONG the Romans the Egyptian religion was the common subject of mirth and raillery (g), and it was every where spoken and wrote of with the greatest slight and contempt that could well be expressed (h). They thought it throughout very strange and *portentous*; and the professors of it nothing better than madmen (i). They were here reproached for having made gods of all the *monsters* in the universe, and for allowing temples to brutes, that stables and kennels would have befitted much better (k). To rank such deities in the same class with those of Rome was reputed there the highest offrontery and indignity (l). In fine, this of Egypt passed among the much more refined Romans for no other than a very *vain superstition* (m);

[f] Ἀπαγλαίαντα δὲ πεινεῖν παρὰ τοῖς τεθεσμένοις δύσκολον. Diodor. l. i. p. 65. e.

[g] Aegyptiorum ridetis aenigmata, quod mutorum animantium formas nivinis inferuerint causis, eademque, quod species multo ture accipiant, et reliquo coere moniarum paratu. Arnob. adv. Gentes, l. iii. p. 109.

[h] — Accepimus Ifin, — Semideosque Canes. — Lucan. viii. 831.

[i] — Qualia demens. Aegyptus portenta colat. — Juven. Sat. xv.

[k] Omnigenumque Deum monstra, et latrator Anubis. Aeneid. l. viii. 698.

[l] Ausa Jovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim. — Propertius, L. iii. Eleg. xi, 41.

[m] Inter sacrificulos vanae superstitionis. Suetonius in Domit. l. i. c. i. p. 664. a.



and when, during his descent upon that country, a proposal was made to Augustus of seeing their mighty deity, Apis, he absolutely refused it, *saying, that he was wont to adore the gods, and not bulls (n)*. And a person of great knowledge in those times has delivered it as his *opinion* concerning their doctrines of *amulets*, that it could not but meet with *scorn* and laughter from all mankind (o).

BUT the ancient Christians, and sacred writers in particular, shew every where still higher resentments of *this* worship. They represent it under a character very hateful, and the people, upon account of it, as utterly relinquished, and given up to the worst of immoralities, though very highly opinionated of themselves all the while, and, in their wonted manner, full of their own *Wisdom*. They became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible god into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness (p), to which this nation was very greatly and unhappily addicted. It had spread quite beyond private converse, and shewed itself in a very infamous manner, even in their religious and most public solemnities. In truth, it was not strange it should extend to them, since the people was abandoned to it as a punishment for the stupid idolatry that was carried on in those solemnities. And this was severely censured by the fathers, and other ancient ecclesiastical writers. But more especially by the apologists for Christianity. For these

[n] Λέγων Θεὸς ἀλλ' ὅχι βῆς προσκυνεῖν εἰθεῖσαι. Dio Cass. l. li. p. 520. c.

[o] Quae quidem eos scripsisse non sine contemptu et irrisu generis humani arbitror. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 9. p. 734. d.

[p] Rom. i. 21, 22, 23.



were obliged particularly to examine and look into the errors and corruptions of Paganism. And they every where represent the Egyptian theology as the most senseless and enormous of any in the universe. For this reason it was that Athenagoras [q], Tatian [r], Theophilus Antiochenus [s], Origen [t], Theodoret [u], Minutius Felix [x], Tertullian [y], and the rest, insist so frequently, and lay so much stress upon it. They pitch upon this as notoriously absurd: and by much the most liable to be exposed of any in all the whole Pagan world. Nor were Julian, Celsus, and the other advocates of Paganism, on any occasion so put to it, as to defend the Egyptian religion. Clemens Alexandrinus's satyr upon it is excellent. He sets forth the grandeur of their *temples*, the stateliness of the *porticoes*, the beauty of the *groves* about them, the walls of the temples *painted* and adorned with *gold, silver*, and great variety of *precious stones*, and the *adyta* hung with *gold brocades*. But when in expectation of something answerably great and extraordinary within, any one comes to look in the *penetralia*, the priest, with much gravity, and a great deal of preface und ceremony first past, drawing back the *curtain*, shews a *cat*, or perhaps a *crocodile*, or a *serpent* lying upon a *purple carpet*, an object much more likely to excite laughter [z] than devotion. In like

[q] Apologia.

[r] Orat. ad Graecos.

[s] Ad Autolicum.

[t] Contra Celsum, l. i. p. 16.

[u] Ἑλλην. παθ. Serm. iv. p. 51.

[x] Octavius.

[y] Apolog. c. 6.

[z] Δείξων τὸν θεὸν πλάτυν ἡμῖν, ἐνδίδωσι γελωρίας (εἰσάσματ'· Clem. Alexandr. παιδαγ. l. iii. c. 2. p. 216.



manner Arnobius [a] expostulates with the Pagans for their charging every public calamity upon the Christians as inflicted by the gods out of indignation to their religion, at the same time that there were among themselves the most lofty and magnificent temples in Egypt dedicated to cats, beetles, and bullocks; whilst the deities they ridiculed were perfectly silent in that case, and not at all offended that they beheld the divinities of the vilest animals ranked with theirs.

Nor had the prophetic, and the other writers among the Jews, better thoughts of this matter. No, they pronounce these ways of worship wicked abominations; and particularly that of paying a regard to any image or form of creeping things, and abominable beasts or any idols [b]. And afterwards: Thus saith the Lord God, I will destroy the Idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph, in the land of Egypt [c]. Much to the same purpose likewise elsewhere; I will kindle a fire in the houses or temples of the Gods of Egypt, and break also the images of Egypt [d]. Nay, the makers and adorers of the Molten Calf in the Wilderness are said to have sunk themselves into a state beneath that of the rest of mankind, even the level of brutes; to have changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass, and forgot god [e]. The historical and secular writers among the Jews had likewise the very same sentiments of the Egyptian theology, and every were speak

[a] *Templa felibus, scarabaeis, et buculis, sublimibus sunt elata fastigiis; silent irrisae numinum potestates, nec livore afficiuntur ullo quod sibi comparatas animantium vilium conspiciunt sanctitates.* Adv. Gent. l. i. p. 15. c.

[b] Ezech. viii. 9, 10.

[c] Ibid. xxx. 13.

[d] Jerem. xliii. 12, 13.

[e] Psalm cvi. 19, 20, 21.

with



with as much flight and resentment of it. Particularly Josephus, who reproaches the Egyptians for making *bulls, goats, crocodiles, and cynocephali, their chief Gods* [f], and for ascribing so great *honour and power*, even to creatures the most noxious and venomous, such as crocodiles and asps [g]. In like manner Philo exposes their stupidity and impiety. He declares that *no one who had himself any soul* could ever be brought to *adore brutes* that assuredly had none [h], as was daily practised all over *Egypt*. But their worshiping of the worst and most useless of animals, nay those too that are the most offensive and injurious to mankind, as the *lion* the *fiercest* of all the creatures at *land*, and the *crocodile* the most *cruel* of any that are produced in the *water*, nay *dogs, cats, and wolves*, as so many *gods*, cannot, he thinks, ever be mentioned to a man of sense without exciting scorn and laughter [i]. He avers that *strangers*, when they first came into *Egypt*, were ever greatly shocked and surprized at the follies they could not but see wherever they went. And men of better *education* were wont to stand *amazed* to see the *honours* that were paid to the vilest of all creatures; nor could they forbear *pitying* and despising such devotees, thinking them more senseless than the brutes they adored, and nothing better than *beasts* in shape of men [k].

But the present question is concerning Moses; and what his opinion was of the Egyptian religion. For the rest of the

[f] Contra Apion. l. i. p. 1054. c.

[g] Honorem, Potestatem, Crocodilis et Aspidibus. Rufinus Josephi interpretes, c. Apion. l. ii. p. 1065. i.

[h] Ἀψύχων. De Decalogo. 755.

[i] Ibid.

[k] Ἀνθρωποειδῶν ὁμοίᾳ. Ibid.



Jewish writers, both the sacred and secular, we have seen how severely they censured it; and how vain, impious, and flagitious, they and the Christians of old thought it. Nay, the very Pagans themselves speak generally of it with full as much slight and contempt as either. They every where expose it as ridiculous and absurd in all its parts; and declare that the professors of it act rather like people in a frenzy, or distraction, than as rational and intelligent men; so that the voice of all mankind besides has gone clearly and unanimously against them. As to Moses, no man was ever a better judge of men; or had a truer taste of things. For proof of this, we need look no further than to the moral characters extant in his works: these are drawn with a spirit and mastery very extraordinary and uncommon. Every thing in them is truly fine, touching, and natural, beyond any thing I ever met with elsewhere. His historical relations are as exact; every where clear, strong, and simple. It is apparent he was thoroughly skilled in all the knowledge of those ages and nations. He was also born in this very country, bred there, and *educated* [a] from his infancy *in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*. Indeed he much surpassed his tutors, and improved vastly upon their learning; as will presently be evident to any one that shall compare the body of morals, of laws, and of policy, he has left us, with those of that nation. His having lived so long there, and in the court too, gave all the opportunities that could be wished of understanding their worship thoroughly, and informing himself fully of all particulars of it: in fine, he was abundantly capacitated every way to make a right estimate and judgement of it. He could not avoid observing on every side what was the most fantastic, extravagant, and even prophane, going on under a



notion of religion. He must needs see them, in all places, with the greatest ostentation and ceremony, paying the highest adorations to things that were rather to be despised, feared, and hated. He beheld them worshiping almost all objects of their senses; the sun, the moon, and other bodies, in the *heavens above*; brutes, serpents, insects, leeks, onions, and other vegetables, *on the earth beneath*; crocodiles, and fishes, in the *water*: as also images and representations of all of them. In fine, they paid worship to every thing that a wise and good man would avoid worshiping; but none at all to that great and wise Being from whom all those things, and even they themselves, proceeded, to whom they owed all the good and happiness they enjoyed; and was indeed the true and proper object of their worship: him they seem to have little known or regarded. *They worshiped and served the Creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever* [b]; being under an universal blindness and ignorance of the true God, by reason of their bestowing so great a veneration upon created beings [c], that were equally blind; and without any capacity or power of answering their petitions. After which, nobody can think strange, that even Pharaoh their king himself, being told of the Lord God, should enquire *who is the Lord* [d]? Nay, it was a long time after this, that it was prophesied, *there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt* [e], where were raised many thousands to brutes, to beings both animate and inanimate, but not one to God the

[b] Rom. i. 25. Conf. ver. 22. and 23.

[c] Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ—τυφλωπίσης περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεόν, ἕνεκα αὐτῶν γενεᾶ καὶ τυφλὰ θεοπλασεῖν. Philo. L. de Josepho. p. 562. d.

[d] Exod. v. 12.

[e] Isaiah xix. 19.



author of all; and then *the Egyptians shall know the Lord* [f] In consequence of this ignorance of God, and that senseless devotion to the most absurd idols that ever appeared, they were possessed with a turn of mind the most stupid and depraved; and were the most corrupt and dissolute in their manners that could well be. Nay, and all the while they were the most positive in their ways, had the highest persuasion of their own wisdom, and were the farthest from a temper capable of being wrought upon and taught better, of any people upon earth. So that Moses's drift and business was to call and rescue the Israelites out from among them; and draw them wholly off from the customs of Egypt, and what they had seen transacted there. In order to this, he enjoins them the worship of *only God* [g], the source and origin of all things, who was totally neglected in Egypt; and forbids the worship of *images of things in heaven, the earth, and the waters* [b], which was solemnly practised here. He suffers them not to *enquire how the nations serve their gods*, nor to *do so unto the Lord; for every abomination to the Lord which he hateth, have they done unto their gods* [i]. He totally disapproves of the Pagan worship; and of all the

[f] Isai. xix. 21.

[g] Decalogue Praecept. i. Exod. xx. Conf. Manethon. ap. Joseph. i. c. Apion, p. 1053. a.

[b] Ib. Praecept. ii. The Jewish nation had been so exact in their observance of *this precept*, and so much avoided the use of images, that none among them seem to have had any skill in imagery; nor so much understood any thing of the art of casting of metals; insomuch, that Solomon was obliged to send abroad for one that lived in Phoenicia, a country where imagery was as much in use as in Egypt. For the figures employed for the adorning of the temple, and the molten sea, were all cast and wrought by Hiram, the son of a Jewish widow, bred in Tyre, if not born there. 1 Kings, c. vii.

[i] Deuteron. xii. 30. 31.

rites,



rites, customs, and ceremonies, of it. In the wilderness he charges them, *Walk ye not in the statutes and practices of your fathers in Egypt; neither observe their judgements, nor defile yourselves with their idols* [k]. Idolatry was, indeed, the great, general, and leading error and unhappiness of Egypt. This, therefore, Moses precautions the Israelites of, and arms them against it in the first place; which was no more than was needful, since they had been so habituated to it in Egypt [l]. And, indeed, they retained a very strong bent and disposition to it even afterwards; as, to pass by others, we see by the instance of the *molten calf*; in the worshipping of which they are said to have *forgot God* [m], and *turned out of the way that he commanded them* [n], for which they were severely punished [o]. In like manner, the law that enjoins the *sacrificing of a red heifer* [p], and that which forbids the *planting of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord* [q], that against the *use of enchantments* [r], and that relating to the *cutting off the hair of the priests* [s], are all apparently levelled against the contrary customs of the Egyptians in those respects. Moses, having thus settled the constitution as to things sacred, descends next to those that concern human and civil affairs, and particularly gives directions for mutual society, and for the securing of private

[k] Ezek. xx. 18.

[l] Ibid. ver. 7. 18. Conf. Euseb. Prep. Evang. l. vii. c. 8.

[m] Psalm cvi. 21. Conf. Philon. de Vita Mos. p. 677. c.

[n] Exod. xxxii. 8.

[o] Ibid. ver. 32.

[p] Numb. xix. 5. Spencer. de Legg. l. ii. c. 15. sect. 2.

[q] Deut. xvi. 21. Vid. Spen. ib. c. 16.

[r] Levit. xix. 26. 31.

[s] Ezek. xliv. 20. V. Spen. ib. c. 25. sect. 2. et Philon. Jud. de Circumcis. p. 810. e.



right. He forbids *adultery* and *theft*, both which were in too frequent practice among the Egyptians. And whereas it was a law and settled custom there, *contrary to the common method of the rest of mankind, to marry with their own sisters* [t], Moses, in direct opposition to it [u], enjoins the Israelites, *None of you shall approach to any that is akin to him to uncover their nakedness*; and in particular, *the nakedness of thy sister thou shalt not uncover* [x]. So likewise he forbids the *promiscuous* use of the same garments to *men and women* indifferently [y]; because that, among many other things that were very indecent and unfit, was practised in Egypt. In a word, that he might effectually intercept all intercourse and communication with Egypt, and distance his Israelites as far from the manners of that country as was possible, he peremptorily commands them not to imitate that nation in any thing whatever, but relinquish all the religious observances they had ever seen in use there. And that they should have no pretext for adhering to any of them, because he might not have given an express detail of each, he leaves with them this general charge, *After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do; neither shall ye walk in their ordinances. Ye shall do my judgements and keep my ordinances, to walk therein; I am the Lord your God* [z]; where there is a considerable difference also implied, and a plain mark

[t] Νομοθεῖσαι δὲ φασὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, γαμεῖν ἀδελφάς. Diodor. l. i. p. 23. c. Conf. Sext. Empir. Πυρρόν. ἱπποδ. l. iii. c. 24. p. 158. b.

[u] Uti Philo Jud. de Legib. p. 779. b. 780. a.

[x] Levit. xviii. 6. 9. Conf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

[y] Deuter. xxii. 5. Conf. Witfii Aegypt. l. iii. c. 14. sect. 7. et Spencer, l. ii. c. 17.

[z] Levit. xviii. 3, 4.



of distinction offered betwixt those ordinances, and these now promulgated by this great legislator.

It is therefore most apparent, that Moses was utterly averse to the Egyptian constitution, and very far from deriving any thing thence to be added to the Jewish. But yet some there have been, who, not duly attending to this, and observing an agreement betwixt them in some particulars, have thought all these were originally of Egyptian extract. St. Jerom, taking notice of the instance of Melchisedec, and that there were priests among the Pagans before the time of the Mosaic establishment, imagines that the *Jews had their priesthood from the Gentiles* [a]: which yet is expressly contrary to the tenor of holy writ; where a mighty difference is put betwixt *the priests of the Lord, and the priests after the manner of the nations*; the latter being not rightly ordained and consecrated, and therefore no priests; as their gods are pronounced no gods [b]. S. Chrysostom will have it, that all the Jewish rites, their sacrifices, purifications, festivals at the new moons, the ark, and even the temple itself, had their original from Greece [c]; an assertion the most precipitate and ill-grounded that could ever have fallen from any man; the Greeks being, at the time that these rites were instituted among the Jews, in a state of barbarity, and no ways considerable: nor was there any manner of intercourse betwixt them and the Jews till many ages afterwards. Polidore Vergil thinks it *probable*, that the *tonsure of the Nazarenes* [d], and several of the *ornaments of the priests among the Jews*,

[a] Judaei à gentibus Sacerdotium acceperint. Epist. ad. Evagr.

[b] 2 Chron. xiii. 9.

[c] Ἰεδαϊκὴ πάντα καὶ τὰς Οὐσίας, καὶ καθαρμὸς, &c. ἐξ ἑλληνικῆς ταῦτα παχύτης ἐλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Hom. 6. in Math.

[d] De Invent. rerum, l. iv. c. 8.



particularly the *linen vestments* [e], might be derived from *Egypt*. Nay, the learned Grotius himself, is not averse to believe the same of some of the *rites* used about *sacrifices*, and the prohibition of certain *animals* and *meats* in the Hebrew law [f]. Of late a very great man of our own nation [g] has made a collation of several Jewish and Egyptian observances; and he is inclinable to believe they had their first rise in Egypt. Though, since that cannot be made out with any certainty, he offers his thoughts, in his usual manner, as with abundance of good sense, so with great modesty; and leaves the determination of the affair much to the judgement of his reader.

BUT Doctor Spencer hath, since, carried the matter a great deal further. For, though he allows that the Mosaic law was given as a guard and barrier against idolatry [b]; and that several parts of it were framed in opposition to some customs that had obtained among the *Zabii* [i], the *Phoenicians*, and other people bordering upon Judea; yea, and some few in opposition to certain practices of the Egyptians [k]; yet he asserts, that God tolerated and transferred not a few of the rites that were in use among the Pagans, into his own law and worship, after he had corrected and reformed them [l]. But, in regard the Israelites had

[e] De Invent. rerum, l. iv. c. 7.

[f] Not. ad Levit. l. 9. et xii. 3.

[g] Sir John Marsham. Mansisse aliquas disciplinae Aegyptiacae reliquias non immerito suspicari possumus. Chronicus Canon. ad Sec. 9. p. 149. et seqq. agens de Ebraeis.

[b] Legem praecipue in remedium Idololatriae traditam. De Legibus Hebraeorum, l. i. c. 1. sect. 2.

[i] Ib. l. ii. c. 2. et alibi.

[k] Ib. l. ii. c. 15. sect. 2. et l. ii. c. 25.

[l] Deum ritus non paucos, inter Gentes usitatos, emandas, tolerasse, et in Legem cultumque suum transtulisse. Praef. vol. ii. p. 5. Differt. 1.



lived many years in Egypt, had been long accustomed to the manners of that country, were very fond of them, and withal rude, ignorant, obstinate, and very superstitious [m], it was almost necessary that God should indulge them the use of some of the ancient rites, and accommodate his sanctions to their taste and capacity [n]; God therefore allowed them, and reserved for their law very many of the Egyptian usages; especially those, that by their pompous appearance and shew were like to please and take with the populace [o]. And this Doctor Spencer thinks the more likely, because, says he, it is most certain that the Egyptians, long before the time of Moses, had a great reputation abroad both for religion and science [p]; and were a people endowed with admirable manners, and a very fine genius and capacity [q]. Whereas the Hebrews, he avers, were a people rude, barbarous [r], and destitute of almost all manner of learning, ignorant of all the genteeler arts, and hardly knowing any thing beyond the bricks they were trained to the making of, and the garlick of Egypt [s]. For which reason, he tell us, they were reputed, among not only the Egyptians but likewise the other nations in their neighbourhood, the vilest and most despicable of any thing that ever went upon two legs [t].

[m] L. iii. c. 11. p. 107, 108.

[n] Deo penè necesse esset—rituum aliquorum veterum usum iis indulgere, et illius instituta ad eorum normam et modulum accommodare, l. iii. c. 11. p. 107. a.

[o] Deus itaque ritus Aegypti plurimos splendore praesertim aliquo plebem fascinantes, Israelitis concessit et conservavit, l. iii. c. 2. sect. 2. p. 16. d.

[p] Clare patet, Aegyptios, durante Mosis tempore, Religionis aequae ac Scientiae fama claruisse, l. iii. c. 2. sect. 2. p. 16. e.

[q] Aegyptii, moribus et ingenio eleganti populus, l. iii. c. 4. sect. 2. p. 392. c.

[r] Populo, barbaro, rudi, &c. l. iii. c. 11. p. 108. e.

[s] Hebraei, omni pene Literatura destituti: artium humaniorum rudes, et vix quicquam supra lateres et allium Aegypti sapuisse, l. iii. c. 11. p. 108. e.

[t] Israelitae non apud Aegyptios tantum, sed et alias e vicinia gentes, bipedum vilissimi et despicatissimi habebantur, l. iii. c. 2. sect. 2. p. 17. b.



Nay, they were hardly ever mentioned by any of them, without contempt; as if *they had thought the Jews, like so many monkies, born only to make the world mirth and diversion* [u]: of so coarse a mould was the whole nation of the Hebrews made, and removed so very small a degree from the disposition of brutes [x]. What title the Egyptians had to this splendid character, appears pretty sufficiently from what has been shewn above. As little ground was there for treating the Jews with all this scorn and reproach; and casting so many indignities upon them. But there was here an hypothesis to be maintained; and every thing must be made to suit and comply with it. The Egyptians were to pass for the authors and inventors of all the opinions and customs that obtained in common betwixt the two nations: and the Jews as mere imitators and copiers after them. That this might appear the more probable, the former must be represented as a learned and wise people; but the other as illiterate, stupid, and very little superior to brutes. It is true, the Jews, during the last years of their abode in Egypt, met with but ill treatment there; and the meaner part of the nation were held to very hard labour and mean employments by the Egyptians, under whose government they were [y]: which they were so far from wanting due sense and resentment of, that upon it the whole body of the people quitted and withdrew themselves out of the country. Having thus asserted, and regained their liberty, in a few years they began to discover all the marks of the original genius and spirit of their ancestors. They attained

[u] Quasi Judaeos, simiarum ad instar, ad risum solummodo movendum natos existimarent. ib.

[x] E luto tam crasso ficta erat Hebraeorum Natio, et a brutorum indole tam exiguo remota intervallo. l. iii. c. i. sect. i. p. 321. a.

[y] Exod. c. i. et seqq.



to a mighty mastery in all the arts of peace and war, and became a very great and powerful people. By the time of the reign of Solomon, they had extended their empire over a considerable part of the east, and were much superior to any nation then upon earth, as well in knowledge, learning, and humanity, as riches, grandeur, and empire. But as little reason as there was for the framing such an idea of this nation as Dr. Spencer has done, no sooner did his work come abroad but it pleased and took mightily with some, inasmuch that it became a fashion to ridicule the Jews, flight the Mosaic oeconomy, and represent it as only copied and moulded after the pattern of the Gentiles.

IN particular a person of great abilities and distinction unhappily suggested, that the Mosaic account of the creation was drawn up only to oblige the Jews with a *cosmogonia*, in imitation of those of their neighbours the *Egyptians*, *Phoenicians*, and *Chaldaeans* [z], all whom the Jews were wont greatly to admire, of which he offers not the least proof; nor indeed does it any where appear, that there was so much as one single scheme of that sort in being among any of those nations for very many ages after that was set forth. Indeed he mentions *astronomical observations among the Chaldees before ever Moses was born* [a]; and that he was only a student in *the Egyptian wisdom* and learning of which their *Thoyth* was the author [b]. It is pity he had not given some proofs of those early observations, or that *Thoyth* lived before Moses. This I am sure, the accounts of *Thoyth's* writings are so fabulous and inconsistent, that it may justly be doubted whether ever he wrote any thing at all; and it is certain that

[z] Burnet, Archaeolog. Philosoph. p. 313. a. Conf. p. 323. c.

[a] Ib. p. 195. c.

[b] Ib. p. 78. e. 193. d.



some that have passed under his name, were forged, and could not be his. As to this wisdom of the Egyptians, of which he speaks so often, if it were such as either their own works of all sorts, or the accounts of the Greeks, set forth, we may be very positive Moses would be far from copying any thing of it. And for the *Gentil-Cosmogonias*, it is much more probable that, if not remains of the old tradition, they were only framed out of some scattered and imperfect particles of the Mosaic relation ill put together, that were handed out of Judea to the countries round it, and at length through Phoenicia into Greece. Nor is this very learned Archaeologist more singular in his notion of the design and occasion of compiling the history of the creation, than of the execution and performance of it. He is very positive that the author acted more the part of a politician in the composition, than of a philosopher, and chose rather to suit it to the capacity of the people than to nature, and the true state of things, from which he would persuade us Moses has in several respects receded, in order to the accommodating of it to their notions [c]. And what his judgement of their capacity was he has indeed not been wanting to set forth very fully. He says they passed among the Gentiles *for a people very vile and of no manner of reckoning* [d] or worth. It would indeed not be strange they should, if it were certain, as he avers, that the *Israelitish nation* was *ignorant and stupid* [e], that their genius was *sluggish and rude, their disposition gross and dull, and such as was neither fitted for the contemplation of natural things, nor the perception of those*

[c] L. ii. c. 8.

[d] Pro inquilinis, vilibus, &amp; nullius numeri, p. 43. c.

[e] Ignarum, hebetemque, p. 121. d.

that



*that were divine [f]. He will have the condition of this people to be half barbarous, unpolished above all the rest of mankind [g]. For he is of opinion, that all the antient nations besides were possessed of some sort of wisdom that was peculiar to them and kept private [h] among them; but he will not allow any thing of the like sort to the Jews. And, of all those nations, none stand so fair in his esteem as the Egyptians. He extolls them much, both as a people very ancient and likewise much renowned for their wisdom [i]: and thinks their knowledge of things, both divine and natural, very great [k]. He gives us to understand, that the Greeks of old were wont to have recourse to this country as a school of philosophers, and a fountain of the more divine sort of literature [l]. Nothing could ever be possibly higher than this, nothing more to the commendation of the Egyptians; whilst he declares of the poor Hebrew nation, that their servitude in Egypt had stript them not only of their manners and discipline, but of almost common humanity itself. They were, he says, a meer rabble of people, a company of slaves, lately brought out of Egyptian work-houses, who were possessed of no arts, besides the making of bricks, of no manner of learning, of no culture of mind [m]. In*

[f] Tardum et rude ingenium, crassam hebetemque fuisse populi istius indolem; neque rebus naturalibus contemplantis aut divinis percipiendis idoneam, p. 332. d. Conf. p. 330. a.

[g] Prae caeteris, hujusce populi inculta & semibarbara erat conditio, p. 333. e.

[h] Omnes antiquae gentes, saltem ex sententia nostra, sapientiae cujusdam reconditae custodes essent, p. 43.

[i] Populus enim Aegyptius et perantiquus est, et percelebris sapientia, p. 71.

[k] Tanta rerum divinarum et naturalium cognitio, p. 99.

[l] Philosophorum scholam et diviniore literaturae fontem, p. 72.

[m] Servitus non solum mores et disciplinam, sed tantum non ipsam humanitatem exuerat. Erat colluvies quaedam hominum: coetus mancipiorum ex Ergastulis Aegyptiacis nudiustertius eductorum. Qui nullas artes praeter latericiam: nullas literas, nullum animi cultum, possidebant, p. 333.



fine he thinks still as meanly of them afterwards when they came to be settled in Palestine, and formed into a government. *The schools and academies that were of old among them were not, he says, like ours at this day, so much framed and disposed for the studies of human learning, that are assuredly of the highest importance in life, in rightly forming the mind, and laying a foundation of good-manners, as for the imbibing and acquiring the institutes of religion, and the gift of prophecy.* For, he adds, *no nation throughout the whole world ever abounded so much with prophets and persons inspired with an heavenly spirit as the Jews; insomuch that there seemed to have been some kind of divine power inherent in their soil and climate* [n]. That men, so much strangers to good literature and good sense, and so little fit to promote any thing of worth or use, should be so exactly well fitted to make prophets, and that a divine power should be the production of some certain particular soils and climates, are notions that I am unwilling to meddle with. But I think, upon the whole, it is pretty plain how heartily this learned writer is entered into the measures lately mentioned, of applauding the Egyptians and decrying the Jews; with what justice, on either side, appears sufficiently from what has been offered above. It were indeed to have been wished, that they, who have been thus free of their declamations against the Jewish nation, had with no less freedom laid before the world the reasons upon which they were founded. I know very well the chronicles and annals of that

[n] Quae autem apud ipsos erant scholae et academiae pristinae non tam ad Encyclopaediae studia, ut solent hodiè, formatae & compositae erant, quam ad religionis instituta, & dona prophetica imbibenda. Nulla enim gens per terrarum orbem, nullus populus, tantum abundabat Prophetis, ac viris caelesti spiritu tactis, quantum Judaei: ut ipsi solo & climati vis aliqua divina inhaesisse videretur, p. 44. a.

nation,



nation, amongst several of their princes who were really great and illustrious patterns of wisdom and virtue, have transmitted down accounts of others who had indeed too much of blemish and folly in their character. But this was not the case of Judea alone; so far from it, that the histories of the kings of the neighbouring countries all round shew too many of like if not worse character. Nay the very vilest of them have been vastly out-done by some of the emperors, and those that were at the head of affairs among the Romans, who yet were allowed of all hands to have been a truly brave, wise, and great people. Nor were the kings the only persons in Judea that were to blame. No; the prophetic and other writers of that nation, addressing themselves to the people there, frequently expostulate with them likewise, as obstinate and perverse, as violators of their laws, and regardless of their religion, as guilty of many crimes, vices, and immoralities: for which accusations, in truth, there was but too great cause. This, with what is pointed forth above relating to their princes, and some reproaches of the Pagans, of which more in due place, is all I can possibly guess those gentlemen could have to offer in favour of these invectives. But their notices and views of mankind are very short, if they did not know that the charge, which is thus brought against the Jews, is applicable, with equal truth, to all ages and all nations in the world. Such is the unhappy state of human nature, that there never was any time, nor any country, where was not like occasion of complaint of great degeneracy and corruption against some, and perhaps great numbers; but it would be very hard and injurious to think all that lived in those ages, or the whole body of those nations, were implied, or alike involved and concerned in that charge. Should any reader extend the satire he meets with in some of the antient poets, or



the invectives of the histories of the founders of the several religious orders, to every individual man then living, or imagine the characters extant in some Spanish, French, and English sermons, suited to the whole body of the people of those three kingdoms; all mankind would pronounce him utterly in the wrong, and the judgement thus passed very preposterous. And it is but fit we give the Jews the same quarter, and allow them the same claim of right, we do to all other nations under Heaven. As to Dr. Burnet's idea of the Mosaic history of the creation, it is incontestable, that an account of things that was framed on purpose to suit understandings that were so very mean and clumsy as he represents those of the Jews, must be in itself as mean and clumsy. And such accordingly, with a great deal of wit, art, and pains, that learned writer has gone about to persuade the world this of Moses is. He has left no stone unturned, nor any thing unattempted, that might conduce to that purpose. Nay, he has once more called forth the baffled sarcasms of even the avowed enemies of Moses, Julian, Celsus, and Simplicius [o], upon this occasion, and brought them upon the stage anew. But here likewise, as in Dr. Spencer's case, was an hypothesis to be maintained; which the Mosaic account comporting very ill with, the authority and certainty of that was to be shaken, to make way for the establishment of this. All means were to be used that might conduce to that purpose, and every thing struck down that did not rightly square and comport with it.

HE had before taken the liberty to recede from what Moses had delivered concerning the form and structure, the situation, the constitution, and the productions of the primitive earth; and

[o] P. 280. 296. 325. 349.

represented



represented such a deluge as that described by the same historian, as really impossible. Now in truth, had things been so, and Moses found erroneous in his physiology, we could with no reason or security ever have relied upon him in matters historical, moral, and religious; of which, at this distance, we have not the like means of information. And all know how great a superstructure is raised upon his foundation, which would assuredly have been in a very shaken and tottering condition, had his accounts of nature proved erroneous, and such as this learned theorist has represented them. We are now able to examine and pass judgement of those accounts, by bringing them to the test of nature, which indeed has been fairly done [p], and they have every where stood trial, as constantly as that theory where it differs from them have failed. It has been shewn that the deluge was in every particular such as Moses has set forth, and that there are at this day evidences in nature which make out the truth and certainty of every individual article of his narration, so as to put the whole quite out of doubt [q]; as also that the condition of the earth before was in all respects apparently the same that Moses hath described, and that wherever this learned Theorist has differed from him, he hath as apparently departed from nature and the true state of things [r].

WHAT was thus advanced being founded entirely upon observation and fact, all sober and intelligent men consider this affair as fixed and settled; and even some who were no great friends to the Mosaic history, very ingenuously admitted those proofs, quitted their exceptions, and acquiesced. So that all might well wonder to see a gentleman [s] at this time of day, in

[p] Natural History of the Earth, Pt. 3 and 6.

[q] Ibid. Pt. 2, 3.

[r] Pt. 3 and 6.

[s] Whiston's new Theory of the Earth, 8vo.



a full gale of his own fancy, acting the very same part over again, and treating the Mosaic account in like or in still worse manner, and this too merely to make way for a *new Theory* that was inconsistent with that account, and had not really any more credentials than the former from nature or holy writ, though both are endeavoured to be pressed into its service, and made to truckle to it. This is founded entirely upon supposition of a comet, that is so wholly precarious and imaginary, that the author has not been able to produce so much as one single observation, or one instance of fact, to vouch for it. Nor has he even made the least offer towards a proof of the existence of the comet, upon which he erects his whole Theory, or indeed that there ever was in nature a comet of such a constitution as that he describes. But this is not, by many, the only objection that lies against that work, were this a proper occasion to propose them.

It is a reflection one has but too often occasion to make, that no persons fall into so many and enormous solecisms as men of learning and much reading. There are, in the numerous and almost endless shoals of books at this day extant, so many things that are obscure, perplexed, and inconsistent, so many that are dubious and uncertain, and so many finally that are not true, that few readers have capacity, attention, and strength of mind, sufficient to make a fit choice of things, and rightly to digest and dispose of them. And, besides, though their attention and abilities be never so great, they that bestow the most considerable share of their time in reading will have little to spare for reflection and a due exercise of their own thoughts, in order to the framing a right judgement and making a fit use of what they read. Nor is this so great an obstacle in the way to the search after truth, as the passions and prejudices that are



in the world. There are few men but have their darling and favourite opinions. Some perhaps that they fell into inadvertently and by chance, others that suit their relish, their humour, and inclinations. Now these, to be sure, must be gratified and abided by; for which reason they, who are possessed of them, have a perpetual bias upon their mind, and pass over every thing, except what may be brought to make for those opinions, which perhaps may be the only thing that ought to be neglected and passed by as precarious and not to be relied upon. And when once men have wrought such opinions firmly into their minds, so as to have appropriated them, and made them their own, they become ever after so fond of them as to suffer nothing to stand that can vie with them; nor is it easy to be imagined how far they will then go, or what they will venture in defence of them. Of this there are but too many instances; and indeed, without looking further, the very gentlemen last mentioned [1] have sacrificed every thing, of however great importance, and though never so sacred, to their own fancies and theories, which after all are found to be far from true, and to have no real foundation in fact or things; nor, which ought also to come under consideration, are of any manner of use or service to mankind, but on the contrary apparently detrimental, serving only to the unsettling and disturbing the minds of men. Had things really been transacted in such manner as it is set forth in either of those theories, the knowledge of that would have been of no advantage to the world. But then they are both perfectly inconsistent with the Mosaic system, so that that consequently must have been false. Accordingly Dr. Burnet endeavours to represent it not as agreeable to the true state of things, but only such as best suited the humour and notions of the people; and Mr. Whiston treats it

[1] Burnet and Whiston.



under the style of the *vulgar hypothesis*, as *unreasonable, incongruous, wild, absurd, and false*. Now this can hardly fail to be very disadvantageous and injurious to the world; nor can these authors well wonder to find that those who are no friends to laws, [to government, to morals, and religion, readily close in with them, and frankly admit their positions. If Moses had been found tardy and failing in his account of things, all that is founded upon them would fall of course to the ground: and so the Jewish religion of old, and the Christian, at present, be left without support. Had that point been once made out, a great part of mankind must have allowed they had been for many ages wrong in their thoughts of religion: and it would be high time to look out for something that was more certain, reasonable, and steady. So likewise for Dr. Spencer's undertaking; to be informed that Moses chose his rites from among the Egyptians, or elsewhere, as would best please the people, might perhaps be some gratification of curiosity: but it would be of no farther use. And then they, who before thought all those of divine original, and the author inspired, must have given up those sentiments, and owned themselves in the wrong.

Dr. Spencer discovers a great deal of wit upon all occasions, and his reading and learning was much above what is common. The very work before us, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, gives an incontestable proof of that; in which he has with infinite industry made a most accurate collation of the Jewish and Pagan constitutions. But then this is the main, if not the only, use that can be made of his book. For when he comes to apply the collation he has made with all that pains and exactness, he falls into the greatest and most erroneous paradox that a man well could, and runs it quite through his whole undertaking.

Because



Because of this *consent* and *affinity* [u], he infers that the Jews had those parts of their laws and rites, in which the two nations agree, from the Egyptians: whereas it is evident, at first view, the Egyptians might as well have derived theirs from the Jews. Nay, both might have taken them from some third original; and each have been induced to admit them without regard to the other; or, indeed, to any other consideration than merely the reasons, motives, and circumstances of things; which are the same in common, and much alike all the world over.

I DENY not but that Doctor Spender hath offered some arguments in behalf of his opinion; but they are such as will not abide the test. There are among them none of any moment but come under one of these two heads: 1. That the Israelites were *rude* and *ignorant*, as well as *stubborn* and *obstinate*; and had a mighty *propensity* to the *manners* of the *Egyptians*, whom he will have to be a much more polite and refined people; so that Moses admitted some of the *Egyptian rites* into his law, in compliance with their *weakness* and their *inclinations* [v]. 2. The Egyptians had a very *high opinion* of *themselves*, and of the *customs* of *their own nation*. Then they *hated* and *despised* the *Israelites*, as a *mean* and *servile people*; and it is not likely they would ever *imitate* such, or *practise* after them in *any thing*. Or, indeed, if they would, the *king* he thinks would never have *connived* at it; since it might tend to the *disturbance* of the *peace*, and *dissettlement* of the *government* [w].

THIS is the substance of what he offers: and, though the fact upon which it is grounded was certain, yet the conclusions he draws do not follow from it. Whatever might be the bent

[u] L. iii. c. 2. sect. 2.

[v] L. iii. c. 11. p. 107, 108.

[w] L. iii. c. 2. sect. 2. p. 16, 17.



and dispositions of the Israelites, it was Moses's proper business to rectify them. He was not to indulge them in their fancies, but inform them of their duties; and direct them to what was fit, reasonable, and consistent with good morals and piety; though that happened to be never so much against their gusts and inclinations; which accordingly he every where did: and there are numerous instances of it through all his government of them. His doing otherwise might indeed have shewn a great deal of *policy*; but not near so much probity and goodness as are discoverable through his whole conduct of this great people. I can very easily allow Doctor Spencer, that this was the method that Mahomet [x], Apollonius Tyanaeus [y], and some *Politicians* [z], have taken: nor will I enter into any contest with him, whether the *devil* [a] makes use of the same in order to seduce *mankind* from the *worship* of God; all which he gives, I think, surely, with a little too much looseness, as parallel instances in confirmation of his notion; but this I am mighty sure, Moses was on all occasions very far from it. The standard by which apparently he governed himself in his religious functions, was a due consideration of what was worthy of God, and suitable to the circumstances of the Jews, both with regard to themselves and to the nations all around. Nor was the Pagan world ever in a state so foolish and abandoned, as not to have had several fit modes of acknowledging their dependance upon God: so many, indeed, that it was not practicable for Moses to compile a form of religion without taking in some of them. He was far indeed from rejecting any, merely because

[x] L. iii. c. 12. p. 113.

[y] L. iii. c. 11. p. 107.

[z] Ibid. p. 107.

[a] L. iii. c. 11. p. 106. e.

they



they had before prevailed among the Pagans; but because they were unfit, or unreasonable. Not but that he was very cautious and shy of all those that were particular to Egypt, be they what they would. For, though some of them might be in themselves tolerable and indifferent, yet even these had been so often seen there in company of others that were not so, but of a very ill strain, that it is the less strange Moses should take care to place so very strong a fence and barrier against them, as it is most evident he did; however contrary sentiments Doctor Spencer may have entertained. But whatever this learned gentleman imagines, it does not follow, though the Egyptians had never so mean an opinion of the Israelites, that they might not observe several customs among them that they might judge very considerable, and well worth their imitation. And for what he urges as to the king's power of restraining it, that was neither practicable in Egypt, where the people were assuredly full as positive, perverse, and stubborn, as Doctor Spencer represents the Jews; nor would it at all have endangered the government. He himself has given an instance of this in the Greeks, that travelled into Egypt, adopted many of their *sacred rites* [b], and brought them into practice at home, without any hazard or inconvenience to the government there. So likewise the Romans had many from Greece, Phrygia, and elsewhere: and other examples there are of the same kind in other nations.

BUT, after all, the fact upon which he founds his notion is far from true and incontestable. It has been sufficiently shewn already, that, however well opiated the Egyptians might be of themselves, they were very far from being possessed of so

[b] L. iii. c. 2. sect. 2.



much good and useful learning as he would persuade us, if indeed of any at all. Nor were the Israelites so mean, so stupid, and illiterate, as he sets forth: on the contrary, were the characters changed, that which he affixes to the Egyptians transferred to the Israelites, and that which he has bestowed upon them to the Egyptians, it would be much more just and conformable to the true state of things; of which more in its place.

This is certain; Joseph [c], who was an Israelite, had so great reputation and esteem in the court of Pharaoh, the then king of Egypt, that the administration of the government was put into his hands. In which government he acquitted himself with great wisdom and assiduity; shewing himself to be a common benefactor and instrument of good to both prince and people. Inasmuch, that the king commanded that his father Jacob, and all the whole family, should be sent for down into Egypt, with a promise of giving them the good of the land, and that they should eat the fat of the land; withall ordering very rich and noble presents to be sent them. Accordingly, when they were come, it pleased Pharaoh well [d]; and he gave direction to Joseph, *The land of Egypt is before thee, in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell* [e]. So that here was a time in which the Israelites were not thought in Egypt so rude and senseless, so mean, ridiculous, and hateful, as is represented by Doctor Spencer. So far from it, that they had high marks

[c] The king having first caused him to be arrayed in royal vestures, put his own ring upon his hand, and a gold chain about his neck, made him ruler over all the land of Egypt; declaring to him, *According unto thy word shall all my people be ruled; only on the throne will I be greater than thou.* And he made him to ride in the second chariot; and they cried before him, and made proclamation as was usual to their princes, as they passed along, *Bow the knee.* Gen. xli. ver. 40 to 44.

[d] Gen. xlv. 16 to 23.

[e] Gen. xlviii. 6.



of honour, and great riches, conferred upon them by the Egyptians, merely in consideration of their *merits* and *wisdom*. Now, when Joseph was in his high station and repute; when he did so many good offices among them; when he had secured them in the greatest distress, preserved them even from *famine*, so that they thankfully acknowledged that, by a careful and prudent administration of affairs, he had *saved* all their *lives* [f]; when he had it in his power to give *laws* to the whole land of *Egypt* [g]; when the inhabitants were expressly commanded by the king himself, to go in to Joseph, and do what he said [h] and directed, having before openly declared, that in all that country *there was none so discreet and wise as he* [i]; and likewise that he was *a man in whom the spirit of God was* [k]: I say, during this time, Joseph and his relations had it perfectly in their power to give the Egyptians any laws, doctrines, or rites, they pleased, relating to religion, manners, government, or the private conduct of life. Nor is it to be thought, that persons of their character would omit so happy an opportunity. It is true, this transaction was long before the time of Moses; but every body knows that legislator took several of the customs used some ages before by Joseph and the other Patriarchs, and inserted them into his constitution. Several of those the Egyptians of old might have learned of Joseph; and it would not be at all strange, that in them their posterity should agree with the Mosaic establishment. Now this, so remarkable a piece of history, will pass with all sober men as an authority superior to

[f] Gen. xlvii. 25.

[g] Ibid. ver. 26.

[h] Gen. xli. 55.

[i] Ver. 39.

[k] Ver. 38.



all Doctor Spencer has brought: and, indeed, he has not one of any consequence, or that gives the least proof of what he would advance. He can shew no instance of the Jews ever having so great a fondness and propensity to the Egyptians, as it is very evident they, with very good reason, had for the Jews. And they were then as wise, as polite, and refined, as the Egyptians, even in opinion of these latter.

Nor does what I am about to establish require that the Egyptians should actually take those customs, in which the two nations agreed, from the Jews; or indeed that either derived any thing from the other. The reason of mankind is uniform, and every where the same; and different people reflecting in like manner upon the same thing, will all draw much the same conclusions, and fall into the same thoughts, without ever conferring together, or taking any hints from each other. But, we shall be the better able to pass judgement how likely they might be to do that in the present case, if we consider the *instances* that are alledged by Doctor Spencer as borrowed from the Pagans to be inserted into the body of the Jewish laws. Of these the principal are, the offering of *sacrifices* [l], and particularly of the *first fruits* [m]; the priests and people communicating, and *eating* part of the *sacrifice* [n], the building of *temples* [o], the *celebration* of *solemn festivals* [p], *lustrations*, and *purifications* [q], the *linen vestments* of the *priests* [r], and *payment*

[l] Differt. ii.

[m] L. iii. c. 9.

[n] Ibid. c. 7.

[o] Differt. vi. c. 1. et Differt. vii. c. 4. sect. 2. p. 390.

[p] L. iii. c. 8.

[q] Differt. iii.

[r] L. iii. c. 5.



of tithes [s]. Now, if it be admitted that the whole race of mankind depends entirely upon the divine bounty and providence, and that the fruits of the earth, the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and all other things that they have the use and benefit of, proceed thence, it is but fit that some acknowledgement and return of gratitude should be paid back to the author and giver of all. This reasoning is very simple and plain, and naturally leads to the *offering of first fruits*, and other *sacrifices*. As reasonable is it, that they who were present, and upon whose account the *offerings* were made, should *communicate* and partake of them. And since it is requisite there should be some fit *place* for the celebrating of these and other like solemnities in, it is obvious to discover what brought-on the use of *temples*. The persuasion that the government of the world is in the hands of God, and that every happy turn and event to any person or nation proceeds from that, must very naturally point forth the setting apart times for return of thanks, extraordinary and suitable to the occasion; and so make way for *solemn festivals*.

If mankind are conscious of the weakness of their own nature, their vanity and folly, and that they contract *stains* and *pollutions* in the common course of life; they must be as sensible that *lustrations* and *purifications* are needful: and though those that are external be only typical, yet even they have their use, and serve to remind those that practise them, to look a great deal further. In regard that the order of men that wait at the altar, and are concerned in holy offices, ought to be of all others the most pure and unblemished, as also to carry an appearance of this for the example of others, not only in their *lives*, but in their converse in the world, their deportment,

[s] L. iii. c. 10.

habits,



habits, and all other things; and since *linen* is very easily rendered pure, clean, and white, nothing can be so becoming and well suited for the making of their vestments as that. In fine, if it be proper that there be such an order of men, set apart and dedicated wholly to those offices, which indeed has been unquestionably the practice of mankind from the beginning, they must have a support and maintenance; nor can that be done any way more fitly than by payment of *tithe*. I do not offer these here as the only inducements to those practices; they are far from it, and several others might as easily be assigned; but these are all very simple, plain, and obvious; and such as people of different nations, and at the greatest distance, would fall easily and naturally into, even upon the first reflections upon things. Which shews how little need there was for their conferring together upon the occasion; or for one nation to take and borrow those usages from another; which all would presently fall into upon a very little consideration.

But, after all, the much greater part of the customs recounted above, and about which the present dispute is, had obtained among mankind while they were still in one company, conversing together, living in the same manner, and making all use of the same rites, before the division of nations at Babel, or ever there was one soul in Egypt. And this lays open to us the true source of all that *consent* and *affinity* that there was betwixt even the most distant nations, after they had settled each in the country that was allotted them. The colonies all carried these customs along with them to their several abodes; and there were from the very beginning *priests*, *sacrifices*, *temples*, *festivals*, and *lustrations*, as well among the ancient Germans and Gauls, in Peru and Mexico, in Siam, China, and Japan, as in Egypt: and Doctor Spencer might even



as well have brought them to Judea from any of all those countries, if he had pleased; only that they would have been then somewhat further fetched.

THERE is one rite more, which though not of the antiquity with some of those recounted above, nor indeed of near so great extent, or used in so many parts of the world as they were, yet must not be passed over without consideration. I mean *circumcision*; which, besides the posterity of Abraham, the Jews [i], Ishmalites [u], and Idumeans [x], had obtained among the *Egyptians* [y], their neighbours the *Ethiopians* [y], particularly the *Troglodytae* [z], and the people of *Colchis* [y], who were a colony of the *Egyptians* [a]. Herodotus says also, that some of the *Phoenicians* were wont to circumcise [b]. But, unless he intends by them the Idumeans, as Witfius [c], upon the authority of Ammonius, imagines, or the very same people that he means by the *Syrians that inhabit Palestine* [d], that is, the *Jews*, he was mis-informed; it being most certain, that the *Phoenicians* did not use circumcision [e]. There can be no great doubt, but that this custom came from Egypt to Colchis, as also to Ethiopia [f]; whence, probably, it passed on southward, to the very

[i] Gen. xvii.

[u] Gen. xvi. 25.

[x] Ibid. xxv. 25. 30.

[y] Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. Conf. Diodor. i. i.

[z] Diodor. l. iii. 165. d.

[a] Strabo, l. i. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. Dionys. περιηγ. v. 689.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Aegyptiaca, l. iii. c. 6. b. 10.

[d] Φοίνικες δὲ αἱ οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, ibid.

[e] Jud. xiv. 3. & 1 Sam. xvii. 36. & xxxi. 4. Conf. Joseph. i. c. Apion.

[f] Conf. Herodot. & Diodor. l. c.



utmost borders of that continent, to Guinea [g], and Congo [b]; where the practice is continued down to our times. But the main difficulty is, whether it first prevailed among the Jews or the Egyptians. Doctor Spencer [i] here contents himself with only representing the arguments on both sides, interposing little himself, but leaving the matter undecided. The work set forth by Philo Byblius [k], in the name of Sanchoniathon, intimates it was first put in practice by Saturn. But, besides that the authority of that work is not very great, we can neither tell who is there meant by Saturn, nor where or at what time he lived. Herodotus [l], as also Julian [m] and Celsus [n], the two great and learned advocates of *Paganism*, take that side of the question here, that Doctor Spencer has done in the several foregoing articles; and assert positively, that the *Jews* had this custom from *Egypt*; though it be very evident he could never be rightly satisfied of that, since, as has been shewn above, they had no records of those times: yet Herodotus seems to intimate that it had been in use here from the very *beginning* [o] of the nation; unless his expression ἀπ' ἀρχῆς be applied, not to the *nation*, but to the *child* that was to be circumcised; so as to denote *ab ineunte aetate*, from its *entrance upon life*; or that they were wont to perform this operation upon the infant in a few days after its birth. This is certain, that it was all along

[g] Discr. de Guinée par les Hollandois, Pt. ii. c. 2. p. 8. & G. Bosman, Descr. de Guinée, p. 472.

[b] O Lopez, Hist. de Congo, c. 5.

[i] De Legib. Hebr. l. i. c. 4.

[k] Ap. Euseb. Prep. l. i. c. 10.

[l] L. ii. c. 104.

[m] Ap. S. Cyril, c. Julian.

[n] Ap. Origen. l. i. p. 17.

[o] περιτάμνοντα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα, l. ii. c. 104.



the custom among the Israelites [p]; and Diodorus is as express, that the Egyptians were wont to circumcise boys in a short time *after they were born* [q]: which he tells us they did, after the *ancient tradition* [r] and usage of that country.

BUT, whatever some may have imagined, the circumcision of the Hebrews was of a much earlier date than that of Egypt. Theodoret is very positive, that *it was not of old the custom among the Egyptians to circumcise* [s]. And this he collects from that passage of Exod. ii. 5. where *Pharaoh's daughter* causing *Moses*, when yet an *infant* and cast among the *flags by the river*, to be brought to her; as soon as ever she saw him, she declared he *was one of the Hebrews children*. He thinks she presently knew *that* from his being circumcised; the Egyptians having not then admitted that rite: which conjecture does not want its weight; and, indeed, that one main end of circumcision was *distinction*, and to discriminate the posterity of Abraham and their allies from all other nations, seem to have been the opinion of Jews [t], Gentiles [u], and Christians [x]. Irenaeus, in particular, will have the very *intention* of this institution to have been as a *sign*; and that the *Hebrews might not be like the Egyptians*. To come to a conclusion, there is in the book of Joshua a passage that gives yet further light to this matter; and indeed puts

[p] Gen. xvii. 12.

[q] Περιέμνειν τὰς γενομένους παῖδας, l. i. p. 24. c.

[r] Ἐκ παλαιῆς παραδεδομένῃ, ibid.

[s] Οὐκ ἦν πάλαι νόμος Αἰγυπτίοις περιέμνειν, Serm. ad Graec. p. 6. c.

[t] Joseph. Ἀρχαιολ. l. i. c. 11.

[u] Circumcidere genitalia instituere ut diversitate noscantur. Tacitus, de Judaëis, Hist. l. v. c. 5.

[x] Deus—circumcisionem, in signo dedit, ut non similes essent Egyptiis. Irenaeus, adv. Haeres. l. iii. c. 12. p. 230. Conf. l. iv. c. 30. p. 318.



it quite out of doubt. *All the people of Israel that came out of Egypt, that were males, were circumcised [z].* At their arrival in Canaan, the country fixed upon for their abode and settlement, Joshua received command to renew the institution that had been remitted during their forty years travel, *and circumcise again the children of Israel [a].* Immediately after that operation, *the Lord said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you [b].* This reproach was uncircumcision; so that it is apparent, from this passage, the Egyptians had not admitted the use of circumcision at the time that the Israelites left their country. Thus Shechem, demanding Dinah for his wife of her father Jacob and her brothers, had for answer, *we cannot give our sister to one that is uncircumcised, for that were a reproach [c].* It was indeed intended as a mark of the highest infamy and reproach by the Jews, to call a man *uncircumcised [d].* The parents of Samson endeavoured to dissuade him from the marriage of a woman he had set his affections upon, by telling him she was the daughter of *an uncircumcised Philistine.* This was the highest disparagement of her they could pitch upon; and what they judged the most likely to shock him, and prevent his making any further addresses to her. And David calls his fierce and boasting antagonist, in the greatest scorn, an *uncircumcised Philistine [e].* As to the institution of circumcision among the Hebrews, we have an express account and history of all particulars of it, and its first commencement

[z] Jos. v. 4, 5.

[a] Ibid. ver. 2.

[b] Ibid. ver. 9.

[c] Gen. xxxiv. 14.

[d] Jud. xiv. 3.

[e] 1 Sam. xvii. 36.



in Abraham, the great Patriarch and founder of that nation [f].

Thus we see that the precise time, means, and occasion, of the admission and establishment of this custom among the Hebrews, is ascertained from undoubted records; and that it was admitted by them several ages before it obtained in Egypt; which is all that is needful, or of any use to the present purpose. Upon what motives it was at length introduced into Egypt, as it is a speculation of very little moment, so, in truth, history being perfectly silent, the matter is so much in the dark that nothing can be determined concerning it with any certainty. Several of the ancients, Irenaeus [g], Theodoret [h], and some others, assert, that the Egyptians learned the use of it from the Jews. Artapanus [i] will have it, that they took it up merely out of regard to Moses. That great man had indeed distinguished himself among them in a manner very wonderful, extraordinary, and such as might well excite their regard and admiration. At the same time that they must be deeply sensible of the miseries and calamities Egypt laboured under, they could not but observe the success that perpetually attended Moses, and the happiness of the Israelites under his conduct [k]. As the Egyptians were a people excessively and beyond measure abandoned to superstition, they might possibly fall into the notion that there was something of a charm couched under that rite, which entitled those that were circumcised, as he and the Jews all were, to the like felicity,

[f] Gen. xvii.

[g] Witf. 228. a.

[h] Serm. i. ad. Graecos, p. 6. c.

[i] Ap. Euseb. Praep. l. iv. c. 27. Witf. 226. e.

[k] Exod. v. et seqq.

and



and so took up the practice of it themselves upon that account. But I shall not pretend to determine any thing of a custom whose origin is so very obscure: only it is most certain that it was reputed anciently a kind of *preservative* against injuries and misfortunes [m]. I am very well aware, that in after-times the Egyptians used it upon a very different account.

ORIGEN has indeed long ago taken notice that the cause of the circumcision of the Jews was not the same with that of the circumcision of the Egyptians [n]. Herodotus lets us know what *that* was; and that the Egyptians did it in his time merely for the sake of cleanliness [o]. Which Clemens Alexandrinus also confirms, he asserting they cut off the praepuce, for the same reason they *shaved* themselves, the more certainly to keep their bodies free from any impurity [p]. Every body knows the Jews used it all along from the very beginning, wholly upon a religious account as an *initiation*, and in token of a *covenant* [q]; a purpose as remote from that of the Egyptians as well could be; though this was not, by several, the only thing in which the two nations differed as to this rite, were it of any use to enumerate them. Not that it is to be imagined the Egyptians would enter upon the practice of an operation upon their bodies, so painful and troublesome as this was, upon so very slight a consideration as that assigned by Herodotus. It is much more likely they were at first induced by some higher motive, as the notion of its serving as a *charm*,

[m] v. Spencer. de Legib. Hebr. l. i. c. 4. p. 22.

[n] Τὸ δ' αἴτιον τῆς Ἰσραηλίων περιτομῆς ἔστι τὸ αἴτιον τῆς Αἰγυπτίων. Orig. c. Celsus, l. v. p. 265.

[o] Καθαρώτης εἵνεκεν. l. ii. c. 37.

[p] De Circumcis. p. 810. c.

[q] Gen. xvii. 2.



or carrying with it some *magical* property, with which the Egyptians were intoxicated above all other people, and which would be as powerful an incentive to them as religion to rational and intelligent men. And, if that was the primitive design of the institution there, it was worn out in tract of time, forgot, and the tradition lost; posterity continuing it down only because it had been long a custom there, having dropt the true reason [r] why it was first brought into use, which indeed is at this day the case of the inhabitants of South Africa. They are circumcised without knowing any other reason for it, but that it was an ancient custom of those countries.

BUT there was nothing in all the Mosaic oeconomy of greater notice, or more extraordinary, than the *Urim and Thummim* [s]. and yet Dr. Spencer will have this to be appointed by God in imitation of the *auguries, prophecies, vocal images, oracles, and divinations, of the Chaldaeans, Egyptians, and Canaanites* [t]; a position that carries the greater surprize with it, in regard the more intelligent of even the Pagans themselves slighted and had exploded all these. They looked upon them only as illusions, and as superstitious and vain amusements, that had no real foundation in nature or religion [u]. Nay, even this very author himself, in a discourse [x] he formerly published, represents them as *superstitions, pious frauds, fancies,*

[r] Consuetudine quadam, citra rationem. Epiphan. Haeref. xxxvi. 3. Marsh. 168. e.

Ils se font circoncire sans en savoir d'autre raison, si non que c'est une coutume ancienne. M. de la Croix, Relat. de l'Afrique, To. ii. Pt. 2. c. 3. § 3.

[s] Exod. xxviii. 30.

[t] L. iii. c. 1. sect. 1. p. 320. c.

[u] V. Tullii, lib. de Divinatione.

[x] Conc. Prodigies. [Praef. & p. 162, &c.]



*follies, errors, and weaknesses, too great for laughter.* It cannot but be thought very strange, and indeed incredible, that the Urim and Thummim, that was allowed to have a divine sanction, and stood in the very front of the Jewish religion, should ever take rise from practices that were not only Pagan, but deserved so mean characters as this learned writer bestows, indeed very deservedly, upon them. The *Urim* he thinks was a little image, in human shape, of the sort formerly called *Theraphim* [y]. This the high priest wore in the *pectorale*, and by means of it God, or some angel by his appointment, was wont to give answers by an audible voice, as Dr. Spencer imagines, when this was applied to and consulted [z] upon proper, great, and solemn occasions.

THE *Thummim* he takes to be another like image resembling that which was worn by the Egyptian high priest mentioned by Diodorus and Aelian, in imitation of which this he thinks was made [a]. The *Theraphim*, from which he derives the Urim, were little *idols* used chiefly in Chaldaea [b], and much like the Penates of the Phrygians, Romans, and other Gentile nations. That the Pagans bestowed an idolatrous worship upon the *Theraphim*, and made use of them in their magick and divinations, has been already sufficiently made out by Witsius [c]. This learned gentleman has indeed written professedly against Dr. Spencer, but has no where succeeded so

[y] Urim—simulacrum forte parvulum effigiem humanam referens Theraphim antiquitus appellatum, l. iii. c. 3. sect. 2. p. 331. e. Vocis formata, ibid.

[z] Num. xxvii. 21. Conf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

[a] L. iii. c. 4. sect. 2.

[b] Gen. xxxi. 19. 30.

[c] Aegyptiaca, sive de Aegyptiacorum Saecrorum cum Hebraicis collatione, 4to. l. ii. c. 10.



happily, nor has that advantage of him, that he hath here in treating of the Urim [*d*] and Thummim [*e*], so that there now remains the less for me to offer on the subject. Thus much must needs be said, that the Theraphims were so far from having that high sanction which the Urim had, or from being the origin and pattern after which this was modelled, that they are expressly declared odious in holy writ [*f*], abominations, and contrary to the Mosaic law. And full as little reason was there to suppose the Thummim made in imitation of the Egyptian image above-mentioned. The Gentile world had ever their deities without number or end. Among the rest they had consecrated and made Gods of several of the powers of nature, of the accidents of life, and of all the several human virtues. In particular, of foecundity, of hope, of victory, of fortune, of plenty, of peace, of love, of piety, of prudence, of justice, and, in Egypt, among many others, of truth [*g*]. An image of this last, made of precious stones, Diodorus says the chief judge in Egypt wore about his neck in a gold chain [*h*]. So likewise Aelian tells us, that he was wont to have about his neck an image made of a sapphire and called truth. He adds, indeed, that the judge there, from all antiquity, had been chosen from among the priests; but the chief management of affairs in Egypt, and most of the great offices in the kingdom, were in their hands. And the person here treated of did not wear this image as a priest, but in a very different capacity, and as a judge [*i*].

[*d*] L. ii. c. 10. et seqq.

[*e*] L. iii. c. 12.

[*f*] 2 Kings xxxiii. 24.

[*g*] Ἀλήθεια. Aelian. Var. Hist. l. xiv. c. 34.

[*h*] L. i. p. 68. c.

[*i*] Conf. Witium, l. iii. c. 2. sect. 9.



It was meerly a badge of office: nor was there any further mystery in it, but only to signify that in all causes, and with all persons, his proceedings and decrees should be according to truth and equity. Which very design *Aelian* plainly points forth, in telling us, along with the account of this image of truth, which the chief judge wore, that a person in that station ought of all men living to be the most just and impartial [*k*], to pursue the truth, and do exact justice to all people whatever. For which reason doubtless it was that he wore this image, as *Diodorus* intimates, while he was judging causes, and determining actions and controversies [*l*], or suits at law. Whereas the Urim and Thummim were worn only by the high priest, were consulted, and gave answers, as an oracle. So that there was no manner of analogy betwixt them, and their uses and intentions were as different as well could be. Not but that the LXX interpreters being Egyptians, and residing there, not knowing what the Thummim really was, seem to have fancied it something not unlike the image worn by their chief judge [*m*], because they translate ΘΕΜΙΜ by the word Ἀλήθεια, the very same by which they called that image. Nor is it strange that those interpreters should make so wrong a guess about a thing that was in their time wholly ceased and in disuse. The Jews themselves then did not perhaps rightly understand what the Urim and Thummim were, nor is it certainly known at this day. They that would see the opinions of the ancients concerning them may do it in *Buxtorf's exercitations*

[*k*] Ἔδει δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι δικαιοτάτον, ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ ἀφειδέστατον. *Aelian*. l. c.

[*l*] Ἀμφισβητήσεων. *Diodor*. l. c.

[*m*] *Aelian*. hist. var. xiv. 34.



upon that subject [n], for I am not willing to charge these papers with any thing that is foreign to my purpose. Their thus interpreting the word *Thummim*, by Ἀλήθεια, did indeed give some umbrage to this notion of Dr. Spencer, that the thing came originally from Egypt. It is what he insists very much upon [o], nor does any thing he offers, in all the long discourse he has published upon the subject, carry so much the face of an argument as this does. But, after all, that interpretation was quite wrong, which Dr. Spencer likewise knew very well. He acknowledges that *Thummim* denotes perfections [p], and not *Truth* as the LXX, very unfitly, render it. This all the criticks in the Hebrew, he allows, are agreed in, as they are that *Urim* imports Lights [q]; which indeed Philo Judaeus [r], and the LXX, have not unfitly rendered by Δήλωσις, *manifestation*, or *revelation*. Now, since this was an oracle, and to give answers when consulted, since its proper use was to give *light* to things that were perplexed, obscure, and in the dark; and thoroughly to instruct, inform, and *perfect*, the high priest, as often as by means of it he should have recourse to *God* for doctrine or counsel; it could never possibly have a more fit name assigned it than *Urim* and *Thummim*, lights and perfections [s]. So that the LXX were apparently much out in rendering *Thummim* by Ἀλήθεια. But here is

[n] Exerc. de Urim et Thum. ii. De recentioribus, v. I. C. Dieterici Antiq. Bibl. p. 654.

[o] L. iii. c. 4. sect. 1, 2.

[p] L. iii. c. 3. sect. 1. p. 329. c. et c. 5. sect. 1. p. 401. d.

[q] Conf. Buxtorfii exercit. de Urim, c. 2. p. 276. e.

[r] De vita Mosis, p. 670.

[s] *Thummim* dici, quia *perficiunt* sacerdotem magnam, qui per ea quaerit doctrinam a domino. Jonathan. ap. Buxtorf. ib. p. 279.



little need to insist on words, when we see the things were as different as well could be. The one was meerly of secular use, the other the most sacred and solemn that could be: the one the badge of a judge, the other an oracle. So that Dr. Spencer was greatly in the wrong in asserting so near an agreement betwixt them, and more in referring the Thummim to the Egyptians as the first authors of it [i], and believing that the Israelites borrowed the use of this gem from them, and that God allowed it as an ornament to the high Priest of the Israelites, in imitation of the Egyptians *Ἀλήθεια* [u]. As much mistaken was he in thinking the Urim and Thummim, borne by their Jewish high priest, the chief person concerned in that religion, and which were things as sacred as any in the religion, and recourse had to them only on great occasion, and in the most solemn manner, were two images in human shape, caused to be made by Moses, after he had over and over so strictly forbid the making of any graven image, or the likeness of any thing [x] whatever, after he had expressly laid his commands on the whole body of the Jewish nation, *Take ye therefore good heed, lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, or the similitude of any figure* [y], &c. nay he had openly declared the man CURSED that maketh any graven or molten image, pronouncing them an abomination to the Lord, and enjoining all the people to answer and say

[i] Ad Aegyptios tanquam primos authores referamus, l. iii. c. 4. sect. ii. p. 394.

[u] Credamus, Israelitas illam Gemmam ab Aegyptiis mutatos fuisse, Deumque—Pontifici Israelitico in ornamentum concessisse, &c. ibid.

[x] Exod. xx. 4.

[y] Deut. xv. 15, 16.



Amen [z] to it. Dr. Spencer takes notice of two very learned men, who, directly contrary to his notion, fancy that the Egyptians took the hint of the *Περίανθος* worn by their chief judge from the Jewish Thummim. I mean H. Grotius [a], and J. Schefferus [b], to whom I may add a third, Herm. Conringius [c], who was not inferior to either of them. For my own part, there is so little analogy, as has been shewn above, betwixt that *Περίανθος* and the Thummim, that I can see no more reason to subscribe to their sentiments, than to his. The things were different; so likewise was the use and design of each, and the persons that wore them under as different characters and circumstances.

UPON this occasion it may be not amiss to remark, that there have been some men of great note and figure in the world, and in particular Justin Martyr [d], Clemens Alexandrianus [e], and Eusebius [f], as also Josephus [g] that was himself a Jew and a person of great learning; who were of opinion that the Gentiles had borrowed all those customs, they had in common with the Jews, from the Mosaic law. To go about to enquire into the certainty of this here would be a digression of no service to my design, and indeed now of no use. I have already not only shewn by what means both might very easily fall into the same rites, without any notice of each other, or

[z] Deut. xxvii. 15.

[a] Not. in lib. de Verit. Christ. Relig. n. m. sect. 16.

[b] De Antiquorum Torquibus, sect. 5. p. 21.

[c] De Hermet. Aegypt. Med. c. xii. p. 142.

[d] Apol. ii.

[e] Strom. l. i. et v.

[f] Praep. l. xiii.

[g] Contra Apion. l. ii. p. m. 1081. a. b.



ever conferring together, but likewise laid open the true cause of their agreement. Only thus much I cannot but observe, that together with Pellicanus, Hackspan, Tostatus, and some others, whose authority will, I fancy, not weigh much with men of thought, unless backed with better arguments than any they have alledged, Dr. Spencer has brought in Theodoret [b], as a voucher for his opinion. He cites two long passages out of him [i], neither of which, in reality, make any thing to his purpose. Whereas, if he would have known the true sentiments of this father, he elsewhere very freely and openly delivers them, asserting that *as the Hebrews dwelt a long time in Egypt, so the Egyptians received very considerable advantage, and many useful intimations of customs and things from their conversation* [k]. And in particular he thinks they owed the first use of circumcision to the Hebrews, as has been already noted.

To bring this whole affair to a conclusion, as it has been above [l] made out that the current of history and fact is universally opposite, and runs counter to this notion of Dr. Spencer: So, if we have recourse to the parties concerned on either side, they give their votes as directly against him; nor does it appear that ever any one man living in those times, Jew or Gentile, had any such sense of this matter. For the Jews and even the holy writers themselves, those very sacrifices that Dr. Spencer [m] makes the pattern after which Moses copied, Moses himself

[b] Tom. iv. Serm. 7.

[i] De Legib. Hebr. l. iii. c. i. p. 10.

[k] Τοὶ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς τέτων μετοικίας ἀπόναντο, συχνὸν γὰρ ᾤκησαν χρόνον Ἑβραῖοι τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ad Graec. Serm. i. p. 10.

[l] Vide supra.

[m] L. iii. Dissert. ii.



and after him St. Paul, who was so great a master of the learning of both the Jews and Gentiles, declares to be abominations highly offensive to the divine majesty, and that those Gentiles sacrificed unto Devils, not to God [n]. And elsewhere the whole heathen worship, and all parts of it, are pronounced abominations, and evil in the sight of the Lord [o]. So that it is not strange that the Lord had charged the Israelites that they should not do like the Heathen that were round about them [p]: and particularly like the Egyptians, who are here distinguished by their worshiping images of calves [q], and perhaps also by their using divinations and enchantments, to which they were addicted above all other nations. In fine, the Jews saw so little like what they themselves believed or acted in their worship, among the heathens, that they aver they *have not known God* [r], nor adored him, or *called upon his name* [s]. For which reason they looked upon them as objects of his hatred and indignation [t]. In consequence of this the Jews were universally possessed with a very mean and ill opinion of them. They were so far from thinking any part of the Mosaic law derived from this quarter, that they ever censured the Gentile doctrines as false, and their worship as wholly impious and prophane, because they so little agreed with their own. Upon which very account they both shunned their converse, and slighted and despised their persons.

[n] Deut. xxxii. 16, 17. 1 Corinth. x. 20.

[o] 2 Kings, xxi. 2, 3. Conf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14.

[p] 2 Kings, xvii. 15.

[q] Ver. 16 et 17.

[r] Psalm lxxix. 6.

[s] Jer. x. 25.

[t] Ibid.

AND



AND this, in truth, it was, that drew so great a load of satire and calumny back from the Pagans upon the Jews, of which there are several instances in Javenal, Tacitus, and other writers on that side; that some persons who did not know what were the right grounds and causes of them have made a mighty stir about, as if those characters were just, and the Jews deserved what was thus only fixed upon them in mere return for the rough treatment they ever gave the Pagans. Every nation will be forward enough to justify their own manners and usages, be they what they will. And those who will insult others must, in course, expect like returns, right or wrong, and not be spared themselves; which truly was the whole of the matter in the case before us, and the only reason that the Gentiles flung upon them all that censure and reproach.

BUT what passed then fell, after all, far short of what we have seen in our days. The stiffness of the Jews, and their supercilious carriage to the Gentiles, drew from them abundance of raillery and sarcasm. Then the mighty distance at which they kept them occasioned a general ignorance among them of the Jewish affairs, and gave birth to several groundless stories and reports concerning their nation. And, when Christianity began to spread in the world, and gain ground of the Pagan religion, the partizans of it directed their shafts, with the same animosity, against the Mosaic writings that they did against the Gospel. They saw well how great a support this had from those writings; and therefore attacked both with equal stress and application. But all this hath been much out-done by a humour that has prevailed in the present age. The Jews have been exposed as stupid and illiterate dolts, the vilest of all human creatures; and the Mosaic account of things as only fitted to



to their gift and capacity. This account has, with a great deal of art, ingenuity, and diligence, been represented as *inconsistent* with *nature*, as *false*, *absurd*, and every thing else that is bad: and this chiefly because it could not be brought by any means to favour some late *theories* and *hypotheses*.

THE scurvy reception the Jews of old ever gave the Gentiles, could not certainly but be warning and reason sufficient for the latter to keep aloof, to avoid their converse, and never come near their territories. The carriage of the Jews towards them was perpetually such as if they judged them creatures of a much meaner species, and infinitely below themselves. To say there that any man was an *Heathen*, was to represent him as wholly unfit for human society [t]; and it was reputed a disparagement, if not a sort of pollution, to entertain any correspondence with him. They thought, with the last degree of contempt, of the manners, the knowledge, the understanding, and even the person of an heathen. This was a continual bar to all civil intercourse with the neighbouring nations: nor is it ever to be imagined, any man could be over forward to travel among a people who were sure to slight him, and judge him wholly unworthy of their conversation. But, besides, Jerusalem lay quite up in the country, and at considerable distance from the sea; whereas Pelusium, Tanais, Canopus, Memphis, and the other cities of Egypt, were all near to the sea, or the Nile, that ships could easily come full up to them; which much facilitated the passage, and encouraged the travels, of the Greeks and other foreigners into Egypt. And this, as it is very certain, so it gives an effectual answer to that question, *What man of all the Graecians did we ever read of as travelling into Judea* for the improve-

[t] *An heathen man and a publican*, Matth. xviii. 17.



ment and culture of his understanding? but who was there that did not travel into Egypt [u] for that purpose?

THE learned writer who propounds this, alledges it as an argument, and no mean one, that the Jewish nation had not in those times any great reputation on account of their learning [v]. Indeed he lays it down as a thing known and granted on all hands, that this nation was never considerable for philosophy or mathematics, for the study of the other arts, or any remarkable production of human wit of that kind [y]. Nay, he calls in Apollonius Molon, pronouncing them the most awkward of all the barbarous nations; and declaring them the only men under heaven that had never made any one single discovery that was of any manner of use in life [z]. It is much that he should not at the same time take notice, that Apollonius was partial and prejudiced, a professed enemy of the Jews, unacquainted with their affairs, and his account of them false, and without any manner of ground; all which Josephus [a] makes out in the very place from which this learned author quotes that passage of Apollonius. But possibly to note that would not have been so serviceable to the design he is carrying on here, which is to represent the Jews as a people the most unacquainted with any useful sciences, the most stupid, illiterate, and ignorant [b], of all the

[u] Quem nunquam Graecorum legimus adisse Judaeam ad capiendum ingenii cultum: quem non in Egyptum descendisse? D. Tho. Burnet, Archaeol. c. vii. p. 43.

[v] Argumentum non obscurum, Gentem istam, tunc temporis literarum nomine non clausam. ibid.

[y] Notam est vero in disciplinis mathematicis, aut philosophicis, nunquam praecelluisse hanc gentem, neque in caeterarum artium studiis, aut id genus ullo humani ingenii eximio foetu. Archaeol. p. 43. Conf. p. 195. c.

[z] Ibid. p. 44.

[a] L. ii. contra Apion. p. 1069. c.

[b] Vide supra.



whole race of mankind. Not that I shall here go about to evince, what is already but too well known, that the histories and accounts of those early times are not so perfect and full that we may venture upon them, thus decisively, to determine what a nation did *not* know: nor is there any reason to conclude, that a people were strangers to all *arts*, because history is silent, and does not acquaint us that they were masters of any: for that is not the case here; and, if he had pleased but to have consulted the books of *Kings*, of *Chronicles*, and some others [c] in that Canon, he might presently have seen that his representation was very far from just, or agreeable to the true state of Things among the Jews. He might have been informed there, that the very *designs* and *descriptions*, and much more the *building* of that wonderfully noble and stately pile the temple of Solomon, to say nothing now of the several royal palaces [d], could never have been performed in that manner without a very great, exquisite knowledge and mastery in carpentry, smithery, masonry, architecture, mechanicks, and all the better and more useful arts [e]. But, besides the body of the temple, the apartments and subservient buildings were also very considerable. The whole was, indeed, vastly superior to any thing we meet with in history then in being, either in Egypt, Phoenicia, or any where else. And yet it was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither; as likewise the cedar, which was the timber made use of in it; so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron, heard in the house while it was in building [f]. The materials of all the various parts, rooms, and divisions, of

[c] Particularly Ezek. xl. et seqq.

[d] 1 Kings vii.

[e] Conf. 2 Kings xxiv. 14. 16.

[f] 1 Kings vi. 7. 9.



this prodigious fabrick, were all designed, cut out, and framed, at a distance from the place where it was finally raised. I easily allow this learned gentleman to be a good judge of all the genteeler and more ingenuous arts; and I *desire him* to consider how this could ever be performed, I will not say without common geometry, mathematicks, architecture, and the several arts subservient to it, but without a very great and extraordinary accomplishment and perfection in them all. Nor is that by many the only instance he might there have met with, to evince the same thing, and put it beyond any cause of doubt. I am very forward to persuade myself those books are not of less authority with him than, I will not say Apollonius Molon, but Herodotus, or Diodorus; and they would assuredly have shewed him, that the arts and learning of Judaea were, in truth, very considerable a long time before ever Thales, Pythagoras, or any of the most early of the Greek sages, had ever visited Egypt. And would the Jews have given them permission or encouragement, as the Egyptians did, they might have travelled into Judaea vastly more to their information than into Egypt. That I think appears very clearly from what has been already delivered concerning the state of knowledge in that country, from all the light that has been transmitted to us concerning it.

BUT, as it was not easy, on a subject so very extensive and copious, to avoid exceeding the bounds I first set myself, which I am well aware I have done; so I shall be the more brief in the dispatch of what is yet depending; which is, to enquire into the sense of the secular writers among the Jews concerning this controversy about the origin of their law. And they are very far from giving any the least countenance to the opinion, that any part of it was owing to the Gentiles. Instead of that, they every where represent it to be at as great distance from paganism.



ganism as possible. One, who was as good a judge as any man, avers, that it was very apparent there was a direct repugnancy and contrariety of the Jewish laws not only to those of Greece, but very many others of the Pagan nations; and, above all, to those of the Egyptians [g]. In like manner Philo, who, being of Jewish descent, and born in Egypt, had the better opportunity of being thoroughly informed of the state of that country, as well as of Judea, after he had set forth the absurdity and vanity of the Egyptian theology, lays it down as a thing certain and incontestable, that the law was given as a guard and fence against the customs of Egypt; Moses, in pursuit of that great design [h], keeping all the Egyptian irreligion entirely out of the sacred legislature; by which means he reclaimed the Jews from the ribbaldry, to which they had been so long habituated in Egypt, to the worship of the true God: his intention in the whole being to lead mankind out of the errors of the Egyptians, for it is of those he is here treating, into the right way, to set aside what was in practice amongst them, and prescribe a more reasonable manner, of worship.

Nor did ever any of the Pagans go about to fancy the Jewish constitution was obliged to them for any thing. On the contrary, they looked upon it as the reverse of theirs, and diametrically opposite to the Gentile oeconomy. They saw plainly, and acknowledged, that *all things* whatever, that were sacred amongst them, passed for irreligious and *profane* [i] amongst

[g] Non enim circa solos Graecos discordia Legum dignoscitur; sed maxime versus Aegyptios, et plurimos alios. Joseph. contra Apion. l. ii. p. 1066. Rufino Interprete.

[h] Ἀνελών δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομοθεσίας πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐκθέωσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντι Θεῷ τιμὴν ἐκάλεσεν.—βελόμενοι δὲ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνοδίαν; πλανώμενον εἰς ἀπλανεστάτην ἄγειν ὁδόν. De decalogo, p. 756. a.

[i] Profana illic omnia quae apud nos sacra. Tacit. Hist. l. v. c. 4. de Judaeis.



the Jews. Nay, the very Egyptians themselves, for whom Doctor Spenser contends so eagerly, had likewise the same sense of this matter exactly. So far were they from thinking any thing transferred from theirs to the Jewish laws, that Manetho, who was, perhaps, as great a master of the history of both nations as any man since Moses, pronounces them perfectly inconsistent, and the Mosaic sanctions *repugnant to the customs* that were peculiar to Egypt above all others [k] whatever.

So that, in fine, whether we reflect upon the customs about which the contest here is, and the nature, reasons, or design of them; whether we consult Moses himself, and the rest of the Jewish writers; or those of the Pagan world, the Egyptians and others; all of them conspire unanimously to establish this proposition, that Moses was so far from inserting any of the Egyptian, or other Gentile rites, into the body of his laws, in compliance with I know not what inclinations of the Jews, that he really avoided those rites; and did all that was possible to debar the Jews from them, and implant in them an utter abhorrence and aversion to them. Nor has Doctor Spenser given a proof that Moses really took any single doctrine or practice whatever from the Pagans, after all the pains he has taken for that purpose. And, by this time, I think it is plain, no such proof is ever to be expected: but, on the contrary, what this learned writer contends for is directly against fact, history, and the true state of things.

[k] Μαλιστα τοις Αιγυπτίοις εθισμένοις εαυτὶς μίσησαν. Ap. Josephum, c. Apion, l. i. p. 1053. a.



**XX. The Ceremonial of making the King's Bed.**  
**Communicated by Mr. BROOKE, of the Herald's**  
**College, F. S. A.**

**Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 25, 1776.**

**To the Rev. Dr. MILLS, President of the Society of Antiquaries.**

SIR,  
**I** H A V E sent you the old ceremony of making the king's bed :  
 in the time of Henry the 8th ; with a view, as it has some-  
 thing singular in it, of affording some little entertainment to you,  
 and the Society, if you shall think proper to communicate it to  
 them.

It is extracted from an original manuscript; elegantly written,  
 beautifully illuminated, and richly bound, which was some time in  
 the library of Henry duke of Norfolk, earl-marshal of England,  
 to whom it came by descent from Thomas the great duke of Nor-  
 folk, beheaded in the reign of queen Elizabeth ; who married  
 Mary daughter and coheir of Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel,  
 lord-chamberlain to king Henry the VIIIth. It contains the  
 whole duty of the lord-chamberlain, and of the officers in his de-  
 partment, is the original copy kept for the information of that  
 earl, and had been compiled by order of, and approved by, the  
 king himself in council. I am, with great esteem, Sir, &c.

Heralds College,

Jan. 15, 1776.

J. C. BROOKE, R. C.

“ THE



“ THE oolde ordre of making the Kynges bedd, not to be used  
 “ nor done, but as hys grace woll comaund and apoynte from  
 “ tyme to tyme hereafter.

“ FURSTE a groome, or a page to take a torche & to goo to the  
 “ warderobe of the kynges bedd, & bryng theym of the warderobe  
 “ with the kynges stuff unto the chambr for making of the same  
 “ bedde.—Where as aught to be a gentylman-usher, iiij yeomen  
 “ of the chambr for to make the same bedde. The groome to  
 “ stande at the bedds feete with his torche.—They of the  
 “ warderobe opennyng the kinges stuff of hys bedde upon a fayre  
 “ sheete bytween the sayde groome & the bedds fote, iij yeomen or  
 “ two at the leste in every syde of the bedde. The gentylman  
 “ usher and parte commaundyng theym what they shall doo.—  
 “ A yoman with a dagger to searche the strawe of the kynges  
 “ bedde that there be none untreuth therein.—And this yoman  
 “ to caste up the bedde of downe upon that, & oon of theym to  
 “ tomble over yt for the serche thereof. Then they to bete and  
 “ tuste the sayde bedde, & to laye oon then the bolster without  
 “ touchyng of the bedd, where as it aught to lye. Then they of  
 “ the warderobe to delyver theym a fustyan takyng the saye therof.  
 “ All theys yomen to laye theyr hands theroon at oones, that they  
 “ touch not the bedd, tyll yt be layed as it sholde be by the  
 “ comaundement of the usher.—And so the furste sheet in lyke  
 “ wyse, and then to trusse in both sheete & fustyan rownde about  
 “ the bedde of downe. The warderoper to delyver the second  
 “ sheete unto two yomen, they to crosse it over theyr arme, and to  
 “ stryke [a] the bedde as the usher shall more playnly sheweun to  
 “ theym. Then every yoman layeing hande upon the sheete to  
 “ laye the same sheete upon the bedde. And so the other fustyan  
 “ upon or ij with suche coverynge as shall content the kyng.

[a] Stroak, from the Saxon, *Stracan*, *Levigare*.

“ Thus



“ Thus doon the ij yomen next to the bedde to laye down agene  
“ the overmore fustyan, the yomen of the warderobe delyverynge  
“ theym a pane sheete, the sayde yoman therewythall to cover the  
“ sayde bedde: And so then to laye down the overmost sheete  
“ from the beddes heed. And then the sayd ij yomen to lay all  
“ the overmost clothes of a quarter of the bedde. Then the  
“ warderoper to delyver unto theym such pyllowes as shall please  
“ the kyng. The sayd yoman to laye theym upon the bolster  
“ and the heed sheet with whych the sayde yoman shall cover the  
“ sayd pyllowes. And so to trusse the endes of the said sheete  
“ under every end of the bolster. And then the sayd warderoper  
“ to delyver unto them ij lytle small pyllowes werwythall the  
“ squyres for the bodye or gentylman ussher shall give the saye to  
“ the warderoper, and to the yoman whyche have layde on hande  
“ upon the sayd bedde. And then the sayd ij yomen to lay upon  
“ the sayde bedde toward the bolster as yt was bifore. They  
“ makynge a crosse and kysynge yt where there handes were.  
“ Then ij yomen next to the feete to make the feers as the ussher  
“ shall teche theym. And so then every of them sticke up the  
“ aungel about the bedde, and to lette downe the corteyns of the  
“ sayd bedde or sparver [b].

“ Item, a squyer for the bodye or gentylman-ussheer aught to  
“ sett the kynges sword at hys beddes heede.

“ Item, a squyer for the bodye aught to charge a secret groome  
“ or page to have the kepyng of the sayde bedde with a lyght  
“ unto the tyme the kyng be disposed to goo to yt,

“ Item, a groome or page aught to take a torche whyle the bedde  
“ ys yn makynge to feche a loof of brede, a pott with ale, a pott  
“ wyth wine for them that maketh the bedde, and every man.

[b] Sparver, a camp or turn-up bed, from *Spanjan*, *Obdere*, to shut or close up.



“ Item, the gentlyman-uss her aught to forbede that no man-  
“ ner of man do sett eny dysshe uppon the kinge's bedde for fere  
“ of hurtyng of the kynge's ryche counterpoynt that lyeth ther-  
“ upon. And that the sayd ussher take goode heede, that noo  
“ man wipe or rubbe their handes uppon none arras of the kynges,  
“ wherby they myght bee hurted, in the chambr where the  
“ kynge ys specially, and in all other.”



**XXI. *Observations on the Apamean Medal.***  
*By the Hon. Daines Barrington.*

Read at the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, March 2, 1776.

**I** HAVE lately perused with much attention what the very learned and ingenious Mr. Bryant hath insisted upon, with regard to an Apamean medaglion, the reverse of which is supposed to represent some circumstances of the Noachic deluge.

It seems to me, that Mr. Bryant hath very clearly proved by a dissertation, in which he enters more fully into this subject, than he had done in his *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, that he was not mistaken in his manner of reading the legend on the reverse of this medaglion, and that the letters *NQE* cannot be the termination of the word *AAEEANAP*, as his anonymous antagonist had contended.

HAVING been thus far convinced by what Mr. Bryant hath alledged; I cannot say that I am equally satisfied with the inferences he hath drawn, from what is described on the reverse of the medaglion, which he supposes to allude to the Mosaical account of the deluge.



MR. Bryant undoubtedly means well by this supposed additional confirmation of the Old Testament. I cannot however but think on this head with Monsieur Freret, who begins his dissertation on the Floods of Ogyges and Deucalion in the following words [a].

“ I SHALL in this Memoir chiefly consider whether these  
 “ two floods really happened; or if they are nothing more  
 “ than a disfigured account of the Noachic deluge, according  
 “ to the opinions of Salmasius, Prideaux, and Bianchini.

“ ONE should scarcely conceive, if we had not repeated  
 “ examples, that so many attempts should have been made by  
 “ learned and ingenious men, to establish a conformity between  
 “ the ancient history of the Jews, and the fables of the  
 “ Greeks, Egyptians, Indians, Chinese, and even of the Ame-  
 “ ricans, which they cannot support but by forced con-  
 “ jectures, and absurd hypotheses. Does this arise from sup-  
 “ posing that truth wants the support of fiction? or is it a con-  
 “ sequence of the strong prejudice we conceive for the ancients?  
 “ Hence, perhaps, it hath been imagined that no truth can have  
 “ escaped them, and that Holy Writ would want some degree  
 “ of authenticity, if we did not find some traces of it in the  
 “ mythology of the Ancients.”

MR. Bryant seems to have only seen an engraving of this medaglion in a dissertation of Falconeri's upon it; and hath altered parts of the emblem, on account of some supposed inaccuracies in Falconeri's engraver. Mr. Bryant, however, applies what Falconeri says about the bottom of the machine, to the top, on which, by these means, he erects a triangular pediment.

[a] Memoires de l'Acad. des Insc. & des Belles Lettres, T. xxiii. p. 129. 4to  
 T. xxxviii. 213. 12mo.



THAT Falconeri's correction relates only to the bottom of the machine, is most evident, not only from his own words, but from two engravings of this medal in the Museum Florentinum [b], and the Numismata Pembrokiana [c], as also from the medal itself in the very valuable collection of Dr. Hunter, and a still more perfect one in that of the Rev. Mr. Crofts, both of which these gentlemen were so obliging as to permit me to examine.

WHERE there are so few objects represented, and the legend so short, it need be scarcely said that the least inaccuracy may make a very material difference; and yet, if the engravings in Mr. Bryant's analysis and dissertation are compared, the B follows the OY at an equal distance with the letters of ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ in the one, and with a considerable interval in the other: if the engraving also in the Museum Florentinum is examined, there is no B at all, nor any character which could ever have been so, as it is rather a Roman S, with a stroke added, [S—].

BUT a much more material difference is to be found in the form of the *ark* (as it is supposed to be); for neither in Dr. Hunter's medal, nor in the engraving from that in the Medicean collection, are there any traces of a pediment, or triangular roof, as Mr. Bryant represents the vessel; but only two erect posts, upon which a transverse rail rests, probably to fasten an awning to, or perhaps to make the whole machine more strong.

THE ark or boat itself also, in Dr. Hunter's, Mr. Crofts', and the Medicean Medal, is formed like a wedge, and not flat as in Mr. Bryant's engraving, on one side of which wedge are inscribed the letters ΝΩΕ in the Medicean, but the characters

[b] Numismata, vol. III. p. 144. and the engraving, vol. I. T. lxxvi. 12. 3.

[c] Pt. 3 T. lxxviii.



in Dr. Hunter's medal cannot be distinguished by the help of magnifying glasses [d], though they are sufficiently apparent in that of Mr. Crofts.

I WILL, however, now consider Mr. Bryant's engravings to be the only authentic representation; and let us see whether the circumstances must necessarily relate to the Noachic deluge [e].

As Mr. Bryant supposes that the letters NOE must signify the patriarch himself, it is very clear that the mint-master must have been acquainted with the Mosaic account of the flood, the particulars of which are very few, and are all contained in three chapters of the book of Genesis.

I SHALL copy Mr. Bryant's own description of the emblem of this medal.

"UPON the reverse is delineated a kind of square machine floating upon the water. Through an opening in it, are seen two persons, a man and a woman, as low as the breast, and upon the head of the woman is a vail. Over this ark is a kind of triangular pediment, on which there sits a dove [f], and below [g] it another, which seems to flutter its wings [h], and holds in its mouth [i] a small branch of a tree. Before

(d) Dr. Hunter hath informed me, since he permitted me to examine his medal, that he thinks he can distinguish the characters in some particular directions.

(e) "Every circumstance relates to the Patriarch;" Mr. Bryant's Diff. p. 116. "Change the inscription, but the circumstances remain." Ibid. p. 21.

(f) Harduin conceives the bird to be an Eagle. See *Museum Florentinum Numismata*, vol. III. which is also represented on an Apamean coin in the *Numismata Pembrokiana*, being probably the common emblem of that town.

(g) Rather above it.

(h) On the wing rather.

(i) This should be, *between its claws*.

"the



the machine is a man following a woman, who, by their attitudes, seem to have just quitted it, and to have gotten upon dry land. Upon the ark itself, underneath the persons there inclosed, is to be read, in distinct characters, NOE [k].”

THE square machine is represented as so small, that the man and woman have but just room to stand in it; and how can this be applicable to Noah's ark, consisting of three stories, and which was to contain so many animals with the provision necessary to subsist them for more than twelve months? I allow indeed that mint-masters do not pique themselves upon accuracy in such particulars; but that there would not have been such a gross misrepresentation in the apparent size of the ark, I can appeal to the engraving of the Argo, prefixed to Mr. Bryant's Dissertation, which is considerably larger than the supposed ark of Noah.

THE roof of this ark is open, and the very top cannot much exceed six feet by comparing it with the height of the two persons inclosed [l]. How likewise does the removal of the roof agree with the Mosaical account of the ark's having but one window? and Mr. Bryant himself supposes the patriarchal family to have used torch-light whilst the ark floated.

WITH regard to the two figures also conceived to be Noah and his wife, it must be recollected that not only the patriarch and his wife, but his three sons with their wives, are expressly ordered both to go into, and remove from the ark; nor is there any one animal following them.

As for Noah's wife, she bears so inconsiderable a part in the Mosaical history, that we do not know even what was her

(k) *Analysis Anc. Myth.* v. II. p. 229.

(l) In the *Numismata Pembrokiana* the two heads absolutely touch the top of the machine.



name [m]; but if she was really of importance, there is a panel left for *γενη*, or *και γενη*, which it was equally proper to inscribe as NQE under the patriarch.

THIS man and woman when they have left the ark are raising up their right hands; but to what part of the Mosaical history does this relate? In Mr. Crofts', Dr. Hunter's, and the Pembrokian medal, the man is represented as rather young, and with a sort of Phrygian cap [n]; whereas in Mr. Bryant's engraving he hath a venerable beard, and no covering on his head. The Philip likewise on the other side of the medaglion is very different from Mr. Bryant's.

THE next circumstance is a bird perched upon the top of the ark, which cannot be either Noah's dove or raven; for the latter does not return at all; and the former, when it comes back, is taken immediately into the ark by the patriarch.

As for the bird on the wing with a branch of a tree in its claws, this also is not agreeable to the book of Genesis, which expressly states that it was a *leaf* and not a *branch* of an olive-tree, which is much more probable, as it is more easily carried by a bird of so small a size as a pidgeon. This leaf is also said to be placed in the pidgeon's mouth, and not in its claws.

HAVING thus endeavoured to shew that none of these particulars are properly applicable to the Mosaical account of the deluge, I shall now proceed to suggest that they relate to Deucalion's flood, as described by Ovid and Plutarch [o].

(m) Sir Walter Rawleigh, who hath given us much learning upon the subject of the deluge from Berosus and others, supposes Noah's wife to have been named Titea; but I know not on what authority. See his History of the World.

(n) Et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu. Aen. iii. 545.

(o) As also Lucian, Δευκαλιωνα επι τετοις, και την μεγαλην επι τετρε τε βιβ. ναυαγια, και λαρνακα μιαν, λειψανον τε ανθρωπεινυ γενεας φυλαττισσαν, και εκ λιθων ανθρωπους παλιν. Lucian De Saltatione, p. 511. ed. Bourdelot. where it is proposed as a subject for a dance, and contains precisely the circumstances on the Apamean coin.

OVID



OVID informs us, that Deucalion and Pyrrha escaped in a small vessel [*parva rate*] [*p*]; that they were the only surviving persons; and that immediately upon leaving their boat they proceeded to consult the goddess Themis, by whom they are advised to cast stones behind them in order to repopulate the earth [*q*]. With regard to the birds also, Plutarch informs us [*r*], that Deucalion judged of the state of the weather by their returning or not, which seems to be represented by the one resting on the ark, and the other being on the wing. As for the branch in the bird's claws, it is not agreeable to the Mosaic account, but might very possibly be part of the tradition delivered down to Plutarch, though he omits stating it.

NOTHING remains to be accounted for but the inscription of ΝΩΕ, which I conceive to be the dual of *εγω*, and that it is the beginning of the line in Ovid,

“Nos duo turba sumus” [*s*],  
being with the greatest propriety applicable to Deucalion and Pyrrha, as the only survivors of the calamity.

[*p*] Hic ubi Deucalion (nam caetera texerat aequor)  
Cum consorte tori *parvâ rate* vectus adhaesit. Ovid. Met. L. i.

[*q*] The two right hands upraised are therefore employed in the very act of casting the stones behind them; nor can this be an attitude of surprize, as Mr. Bryant supposes, which requires both hands to be uplifted, and the palm of the hand to be turned the different way. The goddess Themis likewise directs Deucalion and Pyrrha *velare caput*; and thus are they represented in the medals of Mr. Crofts and Dr. Hunter; as also in all the engravings but Mr. Bryant's.

[*r*] In his treatise de Solertiâ animalium, cited by Mr. Bryant.

[*s*] Nos duo turba sumus, possedit caetera pontus. Ovid. Met. L. i.

O foror, ô conjux, ô foemina sola superstes. Ibid.

And again,

Nunc genus in nobis restat mortale *duobus*;

Sic visum superis: hominumque exempla manemus. Ibid.



I AM aware that the dual of *εἶς* is commonly spelt *ῥοι*; but, besides that greater mistakes in orthography are not unusual in inscriptions, I do not see why *ῥοι* may not be as proper as *σφω* the dual of *ἑῖς*.

Τῆς τ' ἀπ' σφωε θεῶν ἐπιδὲ ζῦνεντα μαχεσθαι. Iliad. A. 8.

*Ἀμμε* likewise becomes the dual of *εἶς* in both the Doric and Æolic dialects. — E also makes the common termination of the dual in the fifth declension of nouns in the Greek language, none of which (on the other hand) end in I.

To this it may be added, that Deucalion and Pyrrha, being both comprehended under the word *ῥοι*, in the sense I have contended for, it was not necessary to inscribe both names on the two pannels, one of which hath no characters of any sort, in either Dr. Hunter's medal, or the other engravings I have before mentioned.

PYRRHA likewise, according to Ovid's account, seems to have been a personage of equal importance with her husband Deucalion, as the propagation of the female part of the human race depended solely upon her [1], but by no means upon Noah's wife.

MR. BRYANT indeed (with others) supposes that all accounts of great floods which happened in very ancient times, must be referred to Noah's deluge, because it was a general one, which overspread the whole surface of the globe, and which calamity therefore could only be delivered down from the survivors of the patriarchal family.

HAVING examined however with some care (and as I hope without prejudice) the three chapters of Genesis which state the circumstances that happened during this deluge, I cannot see any reasons for supposing it to have been general.

[1] Et de foemineo reparata est foemina jactu. Ovid. Met. L. i.



BUT before I enter into this discussion, I must premise, that I understand the following terms in the following senses.

THE *earth* is to be applied only to the district in which this calamity happened, the synonyms in most languages being equally confined from the context, in their signification.

THUS in the 12th book of the *Odyssæy* γᾱίῃ only means an *island*.

— γᾱίῃ τις ἀλλῇ  
Φαινέο γαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἔρανος ἡδε θαλάσση. *Od. M. 403.*

It sometimes is still more circumscribed, and relates to the soil immediately under our feet, as in the first book of the *Iliad*.

Ποτὶ δὲ σκηπτον βαλε γαίῃ, as also,  
— ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαίᾳ. *Iliad Δ. 451.*

The sense of the word (*terra*) equally depends upon the context, and does not always import the whole surface of the globe, as in the following line of *Virgil*.

Postquam altum tenuere artes, nec jam amplius ullæ  
Apparent terræ—

SOMETIMES no more than a very small portion of soil, as  
— haud paravero,

Quod aut avarus ut Chremes terrâ premam;  
Discinctus aut perdam ut nepos.

*Horat. Epod. i.*

I SHALL now shew that *the earth* is necessarily used in a confined sense in some of the chapters of *Genesis* which relate to the flood.

“THERE were Giants in the *earth* in those days,” *Gen. vi. 4.* where it must mean the adjacent country, for I believe it never was contended, that there were at this time giants over the whole surface of the globe. The sense of the word being thus



ascertained when it is first introduced in the account of the deluge, it seems to follow, that it must continue to be used in the same signification, when it occurs afterwards in the Mosaical account of the flood.

Thus again, "and the flood was forty days upon the earth, "and the waters increased and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth."

WHEN the *earth* is thus introduced a second time, it must mean only the space of ground which was under the ark [u]; whilst it is also expository of the same word used in the preceding part of the verse, which cannot therefore reasonably be extended beyond the district.

THE next term which hath occasioned the misunderstanding the Mosaical account is that of *Heaven*, the sense of which again, and its synonyms, in most languages, depends upon the context, as it often signifies no more than the atmosphere over a particular district, or scarcely more sometimes than the vertical point over our heads.

Thus in the 12th book of the *Odyssæy* *κρανος* means only the atmosphere above a high rock.

——— *κρανον ευρυν ικανει*

Οξειη κορυφη———

Od. M. 74.

AND again in the last book of the *Iliad*,

——— *λειβε δε οινον,*

Ουρανον εισανιδων, ——

Il. Ω. 306.

Where it is confined to the clouds above the person who is to make the libation.

THE Latin term *Coelum* is often likewise not applied to more than the atmosphere of a district, or a still smaller portion; thus in the often cited line of Horace,

*Coelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt;*

[u] Gen. vii. 16.

Whilst



Whilst Virgil confines it to the void space above a tree ;

Exit ad coelum ramis felicibus arbos.

Thus Jacob's ladder reaches from the earth to *heaven*, Gen. xxviii. 12, in which passage nothing more than a very small point can be implied.

As again, "A tower whose top may reach to heaven," Gen. xi. 4.

THERE is a third expression used in these three chapters of Genesis, which it may be right to explain, viz. the fountains of *the deep*, as it is much relied upon by the partisans of an universal deluge, and supposed to account for the extraordinary height of the waters ; whilst some conceive it to signify the sea, and others subterraneous waters inclosed within the surface of our globe. I understand, however, by this expression, nothing more than the fountains of the atmosphere, the word *deep* in some languages relating to what is over our heads, as well as under our feet.

THE term, therefore, by which *the deep* is rendered in the Septuagint; is αβυσσος [x], which signifies indeed *without bottom*, but for the same reason *without top*.

[x] This term occurs in Ps. xlii. 7. "Deep calleth unto deep at the noise of thy water-spouts," which in the Septuagint runs αβυσσος αβυσσον επικαλειται εις φωνην των καταρακτων σου. It is impossible that the Psalmist can here allude to either waters under the surface of our globe, or to the sea which is at such a distance from Judea, but, on the contrary, it must relate to what is above him from καταρακται being mentioned, which always signify the precipitate descent of a river. Thus also αβυσσος is joined to the καταρακται τε κρανε, Gen. vii. 11. as again Gen. viii. 2. which being stopped, the rain from Heaven is restrained.

This word (viz. αβυσσος) is twice used likewise in the Revelations, viz. ix. 11. and xx. 3, in both which verses it must mean, probably, some inferior part of the heavens, and neither the bottom of the sea, or waters within the central parts of our earth.

This word is more properly αβυθος, but Suidas informs us Ιωνες δε τον βυθον βυσσον φασιν.

THUS



THUS *profundus* is applied by Virgil to Heaven: *Eccl. iv.*

Terrasque tractusque maris, coelumque profundum,

As also *altus* to signify either *high* or *deep*, as in the line of Virgil,

Postquam *altum* tenuere rates.

HAVING thus endeavoured to fix the sense in which the 6th, 7th, and 8th chapters of Genesis have introduced these expressions, I will beg any candid reader to peruse them, substituting my acceptation of these words, instead of the terms in which these chapters are rendered either into Greek, Latin, or English.

It is proper, however, that I should here state the only text [y], which may seem to require being understood to extend to a general deluge.

“And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and  
“all the high hills that were under the *whole* heaven were  
“covered.

“Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail, and the  
“mountains were covered.” Gen. vii. 19 and 20.

THAT the *whole* heaven can here only imply the atmosphere above the district in which the deluge happened, seems evident from the following reasons:

THE history of this flood is commonly supposed to have been written by Moses; and if he received the tradition from Noah with the utmost accuracy, yet the Patriarch could only give an account of what he was able to observe himself, and therefore

[y] *All* flesh is likewise used, Gen. ix. 15, and occurs also twice more in the same chapter; but I should conceive, that these general expressions must be confined in their signification for the reasons which I shall give in relation to Gen. vii. 19, 20.

these



these words must be confined to the district in which the ark floated. It must be added to this, that it is stated, the mountains were covered with water to the depth of fifteen cubits; this cannot, however, relate to every mountain on our globe; but to those only which Noah might be acquainted with the height of; even Mount Ararat, on which the ark rested, is by no means the highest mountain of our earth.

BESIDES this, such general words (as *all*) must eternally be confined in their signification.

THUS when it is said by St. Luke, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that *all the world* should be taxed, Luke ii. 1. [y], this can only refer to that part of it which was under the Roman government; for Parthia (not far from Judea) was so far from being subjected to the Roman yoke, that they had, not many years before this, totally defeated Crassus's army [z].

THUS also, when Petronius says,

*Orbem jam totum victor Romanus habebat,*

*Qua mare, qua tellus, qua fidus currit utrumque,*

it is well known, that there were many parts even then unsubdued.

[y] The expression in the Greek is *πασαν την οικουμένην*, but this is equally inaccurate, if the words are translated in their more literal sense, and confined to the inhabited part of the globe. Thus also three of the Evangelists inform us (Matthew xxvii. 45. *επι πασαν την γην*. Mark xv. 33. and Luke xxiii. 44. *εφ' ολην την γην*, that darkness prevailed over the whole earth for three hours after the crucifixion;) this, however, must relate only to Judea, for such a most remarkable event is not mentioned by any other writer who lived at the time or later. The elder Pliny must have probably remembered this darkness if it had extended to Italy; and he would certainly have introduced it into his Natural History, as he hath a chapter, intituled, "*Dierum lux nocte*," l. ii. c. 33. which would have been followed by "*Noctuum tenebrae die*."

[z] "The Lord God of heaven hath given me *all the kingdoms of the earth*," Ezra speaking in the name of Cyrus, 1st and 2d.

To



To understand therefore such words as always used in one and the same extensive sense, is to multiply most unnecessarily inconsistencies and absurdities.

If what I have thus contended for, with regard to the deluge being only a partial one in the time of Noah, is admitted, all difficulties are removed.

For example, no calculations (which I have seen) have made the ark of a sufficient size to hold all the animals of the globe, with provisions to subsist them for more than twelve months; but it might have been large enough to hold all the useful animals of the district; nor is there any occasion from the Mosaical account, to suppose that lions, tigers, &c. were included; for the general words (as in other cases) are to receive a reasonable construction; and no one but a very zealous naturalist would think of preserving noxious animals. As for the mention of both *clean* and *unclean* beasts, this extends no further than to those which were eaten or not; a camel or ass in this sense is an unclean beast.

AGAIN, if the deluge was universal, there must have been a new creation of insects; nor is it stated that Noah preserved these; nor could he indeed collect them in their different metamorphoses.

For the same reason the animals of America, and which were never seen till the discovery of that quarter of the globe, will occasion no difficulty; nor the black or many other species of the human kind.

I SHALL here also suggest another objection to an universal deluge, which, I believe, hath never yet been insisted upon, which is, that all the sea-fish of the globe must have been destroyed, or those of the fresh water. For Dr. Keill conceives that it would have required twenty-two oceans to have covered the  
the



the tops of the highest mountains; and allowing this addition to consist of either salt or fresh water, the destruction of one or other must have ensued, by continuing more than a year in an element so almost entirely altered.

It is admitted, that some have endeavoured to support their opinions with regard to the universality of the deluge from fossil-fish being found on high mountains. I cannot, however, think that much is to be inferred from this sort of proof, and from the following reasons:

In the first place, well-asserted facts of fossil-fish being found in such situations are not very frequent, because every collector is very willing to believe that his specimens were procured from such elevated spots, as the circumstance in some measure increases their value, and certainly their curiosity.

In the next place, supposing the sea to have been freshened in the proportion of twenty-two to one, what could have been the inducement to those of the salt-water to leave the more briny part at the bottom, in order to reach such waters as they could not so well subsist in? Besides this, many fish never leave the bottom, particularly most of the crustaceous ones.

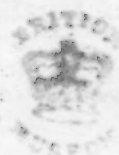
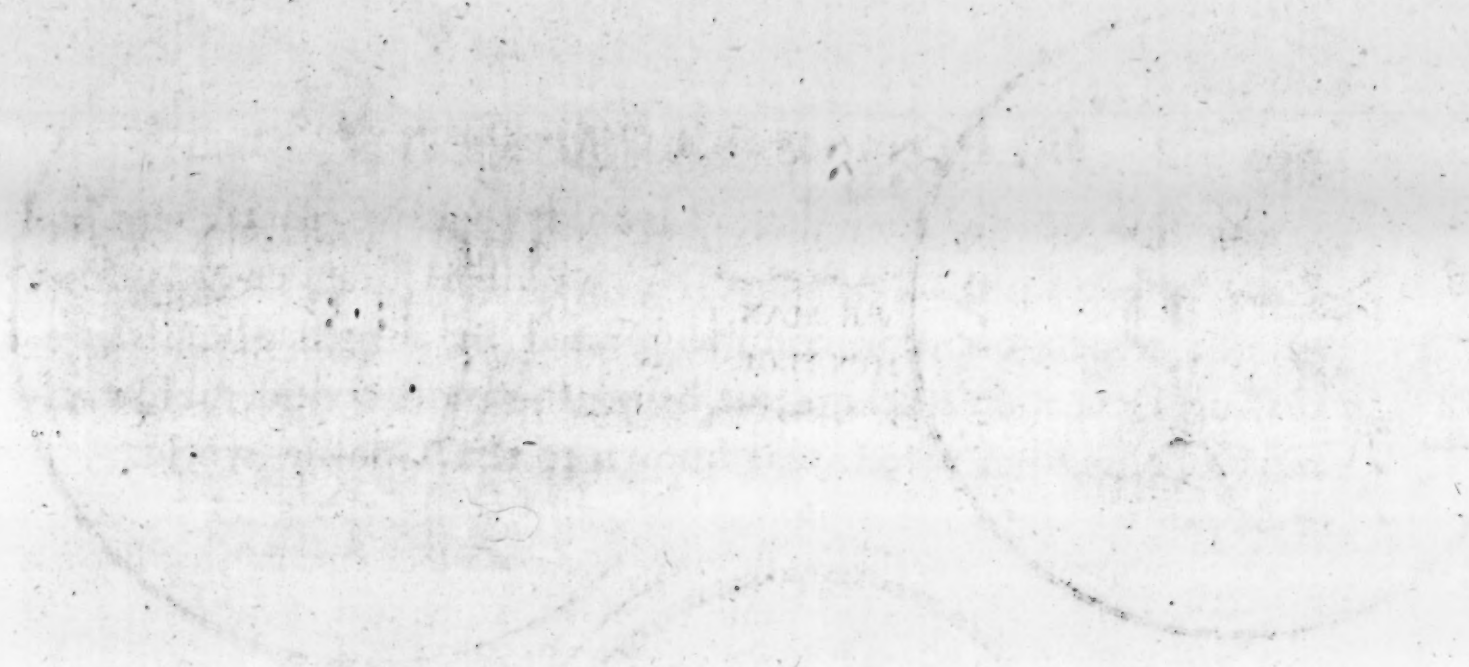
If it be then asked, how such fossil-fish can ever be found upon the tops of mountains? my answer is, that such instances are much more naturally accounted for, by supposing the mountains to have been thrown up from the bottom of the sea by earthquakes, or volcanos. As for fossil-shells procured in the inland parts of countries, in all such instances the strata should be extensive, as otherwise they may have been deposited there by some accident. It hath also been observed, that the shells which are most commonly found in a fossil state are scarcely ever to be procured recent, and *vice versa*. The contrary to which must follow if a general deluge were the cause.



ON the whole, therefore, I should conceive that there had been a great flood at Apamea [a], whilst Alexander was high priest; which event is commemorated by a medaglion representing Deucalion's deluge; it being the most considerable calamity of this kind which was known to the Gentile world.

[a] This town is furrounded by three rivers, from which circumstance Bochart supposes it to have obtained the name of *Ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων*, as the port of Alexandria was likewise so called from the bay surrounding it, Phaleg. 1. i. c. 3.









AR. MAX.  
MUS. FLOR.



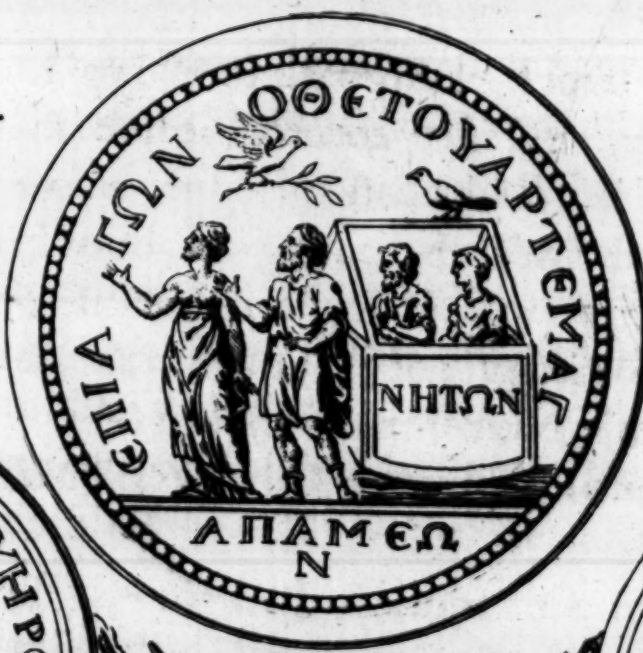
Bryant



Falconeri.



Mus. Pembroch.



Bryant



MUS - 5 REG. GALL.



Falconeri.



[ 331 ]  
**XXII. Observations on the Apamean Medal. By the  
Rev. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, and P. A. S.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Feb. 27, 1777.

**T**HE very learned and ingenious Mr. Bryant having directed the attention of the public to the Apamean medal, I hope it will not be thought an unacceptable or a useless attempt, to clear up some points relative to that coin; and to enquire into the proofs of its authenticity, that the learned may be better enabled to judge of the opinions which have been formed upon it [a].

THIS medaillon was struck at Apamea in Phrygia, during the reign of the elder Philip, and first communicated to the public by Ottavio Falconeri, a skilful Italian medalist, as we may infer from the learned Spanheim's dedicating to him his book *De usu et praestantia Numismatum*. Falconeri's treatise on this coin was first printed at Rome in 1668, afterwards added to the second edition of Seguin's *Numismata*, Paris 1684, and a third time reprinted in the tenth volume of Gronovius's *Greek Antiquities* [b].

HE professes to have seen no less than three different specimens of this coin: one in the Grand Duke's gallery at Florence; a second in the cabinet of Cardinal Ottoboni; and a third in the collection of Prince Chigi. From the first of these, as the most

[a] See Plate XX. fig. i. ii. iii.

[b] Page 678.



perfect, he took his drawing, and formed his dissertation; wherein he positively asserts, and appeals to Seguin, Gothofred, and others, as joint witnesses, that the letters  $\text{N}\Omega\text{E}$  are expressed *not obscurely* on the ark, in the reverse; but that in the Ottoboni coin the N only is visible; and in Prince Chigi's all three letters are effaced.

HE endeavours to illustrate this medaillon by one of Sept. Severus, struck also at Apamea, and engraved from a drawing sent him by Monsr. Seguin [c]. The figures and emblems on the reverse of both coins are nearly similar; the principal difference consisting in the names and titles of the persons, and in the letters inscribed on the ark; which in Severus's coin he took to be  $\text{NHT}\Omega\text{N}$ , in that of Philip  $\text{N}\Omega\text{E}$ . From these figures and emblems, but more especially from the ark, and the name of the Patriarch supposed to be inscribed on it, Falconeri seems to have thought that both these reverses alluded to the Noachic deluge.

THIS opinion remained for some time uncontroverted in print, but uncredited by all skilful medalists, at a time when medals were not so well understood, nor so critically examined as they are at present: and, indeed, the first subsequent examination of the Ottoboni coin, which was made in 1697, proved unfavourable, for the legend on the ark appeared to be more perfect than Falconeri had represented it; and the letters were found to be  $\text{NE}\Omega\text{K}$ , not N with an obliteration of two letters, as he had stated the matter, and much less  $\text{N}\Omega\text{E}$ , as on the Medicean coin. In consequence of this, Monsr. Vaillant, who published his book of Greek coins a few years after, admits the Ottoboni medal into his catalogue with the legend  $\text{NE}\Omega\text{K}$ , which he renders *Neocarorum*, and is followed in that reading and interpretation by all the subsequent medalists.

[c] Fig. v, vi, vii.



FROM his quoting the Ottoboni instead of the Florentine coin for this reverse, among the medals of Philip, it may be supposed either that he doubted the authenticity of the latter, or at least thought the former a more responsible coin.

THIS disagreement in the legend of the two medals materially affected Falconeri's opinion, by depriving him of the Patriarch's name, on which the strength of his argument depended. And, indeed, if both coins had been genuine, and the difference was supposed to arise only from a mistake in the mint-master, the error would more justly have been imputed to the Medicean coin, from the improbability of its bearing the name of Noah; whereas the word ΝΕΩΚ, on the other coin, expressed a title commonly born by the Asiatic cities, and frequently expressed on their medals.

It happens unfortunately, that the coin on which Falconeri's dissertation is founded, has been proved to be spurious. Professor Gori, the keeper of the Grand Duke's collection, whose skill in medals, and particularly in those under his care, gives the greatest weight to his opinion, pronounces it to be a cast coin, describes its imperfections, and points out the particular appearance of its surface, common to all such counterfeit coins, by saying, *Porulis et ramentis scutet*: Unwilling, however, to discredit either the Duke's cabinet, or Falconeri's judgement, he suggests that this counterfeit piece was substituted by fraud in the place of the genuine coin described by the author [d]. But if this is fact, may we not ask, What is become of that genuine coin? Was it stolen, that the fraudulent professor might keep it for ever secluded from human inspection, and confine the enjoyment of it to his own sole view? Would he not rather

[d] Museum Florentinum, tom. iii. p. 149.



have been tempted to dispose of it to some of those royal and magnificent collectors, who are known to spare no expence in the purchase of such valuable Uniques? But no *genuine* coin of this impression, with a fair legend on the ark, is to be found in any other public collection; at least as far as we are informed by the publishers of medals. There is one of them indeed in the king of France's cabinet; but the Abbé Barthelemy, who is a very learned and skilful medalist, expresses his doubts, even almost to a disbelief, of the authenticity of that coin. His words are [e]: "The medaillon of Philip, with the same type, " is preserved in the king's cabinet; it is perfectly like to that " Falconeri has engraved, but the two or three letters on the " ark are entirely defaced. I have never been satisfied with " this medal; the first glance of it is very unfavourable, and " our suspicions encrease in proportion as we examine it with " more attention." There is another of these medals in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke [f], represented in the annexed plate, Fig. iv. which is all that the present situation of that cabinet will permit us to say of it; but I hope it will not be thought a bold, or disrespectful conjecture, to suppose, that whenever that collection shall be submitted to public view, this medaillon will prove to be *ejusdem farinae* with that of Florence; and I am the more justified in this opinion, from the opportunities which I have had of examining three different specimens of the same coin, all possessed by gentlemen of great worth, and most approved skill in the science. The first, which may boast with that at Florence, of being in the most entire preservation, belongs to the Rev. Mr. Crofts; the figures and legend are perfect, and the dark-brown patten, so often seen on genuine coins, is well imitated. Mr. Duane possesses an-

[e] In his letter to Mr. Combe, on this subject.

[f] Fig. i. Portus & navigia, pl. lxxix.



other of these pieces, cast (as it should seem) in the same mould; the metal is more yellow, and it pretends not to those external marks of antiquity which appear on Mr. Crofts's coin. The third is in Dr. Hunter's cabinet, and (either on purpose, or by accident) has been broken into three or four parts, but is joined and holden together in a rim of brass. It bears the most exact resemblance to the other two, except in point of preservation. The worthy possessors of these medals, who so obligingly favoured me with a sight of them, will not be displeased, I hope, with my declaring from the most thorough conviction (and possibly not differing from them in opinion), that all three coins are spurious, and seem to have been cast in the same mould.

FROM these facts it should follow, that the Ottoboni and Chigi medaillons are the only *genuine* pieces extant of Philip *with this reverse*. Of the latter we know nothing except the name: but the former has stood the examination of medalists, is supported by the authority of Vaillant, and may have given birth to the several spurious coins which perhaps were cast in imitation of it. For, whatever may be the real history represented on this medaillon, the ark swimming on the waters, the two persons in it, the dove with the branch, and the word NEΩK on the ark, so little different from NΩE, might have suggested the first hint, and have been the great inducement to the falsifiers of coins to give importance and rarity to a genuine medaillon of this impression, by changing the word NEΩK into NΩE. Alterations more bold and difficult have been frequently practised to impose upon collectors; and the deceit of changing a few letters only on a genuine coin, is much more excusable than fabricating a false one, especially if it is formed without an archetype, and has no other foundation but the rancy of the maker. The Italians, who are very conversant in this kind of manufacture,



manufacture, consider it as a venial sin, and the Abbé Venuti, speaking of the Florentine coin, supposes the word ΝΩΕ to have been formed on this, and on all the other genuine medals of this impression, by an operation which he calls *polishing the coin*, as if repairing and falsifying were synonymous terms. The passage, however, to which I refer, confirms what has been before advanced concerning the legend of this medal [g].

THOUGH this was manifestly the most easy and natural method of new modelling the coin in question, yet it is somewhat remarkable, that no *genuine medal* of Philip so altered exists in any collection. Possibly its extreme rarity may have prevented the fabricators from trying this experiment on it; for the fraud appears to have been uniformly carried on (as is evident from the above-mentioned specimens), by casting new medals, not by repairing old ones; so that on the whole we may subscribe to Gori's opinion with which he concludes his dissertation on this coin:

“PROFECTO neminem fore arbitror, qui turbatis corruptisque  
“hoc loci numismatis credere velit, in arcâ scriptum nomen  
“ΝΩΕ [b].”

IT is rather unfortunate, that one of Falconeri's engravings should represent a false medal [i], and the other misrepresent a true one [k]; for we may allow the genuineness of Severus's coin, which is now in the French king's cabinet on the united authority of

[g] Maluimus in numismate cujus lectio difficultatis plena est, accuratissimi Vaillantii auctoritatem sequi: plurimos quippe alios in diversas rapuit sententias. Alii, ut in eo descriptum adfererent Noachi ciboton, et cataclysmum, in navigii latere ΝΩΕ scriptum voluere. Alii in eodem loco ΝΗΤΩΝ hoc est Μαγνητων και Απαμεων ομονοια legerunt: nam in *perpoliando* nummo istud ΝΩΕ efformatum putamus, quod dicendum de genuinis omnibus, in quibus ita dispositae literae observantur. In Num. Alb. Vatic. Tab. xlix. n. ii. p. 99.

[b] P. 154.

[i] Fig. ii.

[k] Fig. vi.



Monf. Vaillant and the Abbé Barthelemy. It is, however, surprising that Seguin's drawing of that coin should represent the word on the ark to be NHTΩN, and that Vaillant should read it NEΩK as on the Ottoboni coin; but it is still more extraordinary, that Seguin should correct his first error by a second; and acknowledge in the preface to Falconeri's dissertation [1], that on a more accurate inspection of the coin, he found the word on the ark to be NΩE not NHTΩN, as he had before represented it; the two first letters of NΩE, he says, were manifestly apparent, and the last not obscurely discernible. But can any credit be given to two such contradictory accounts? and how can either of them be received against the more established authority of Vaillant, and all the other subsequent medalists?

From the resemblance in the figures and emblems on the medaillons of Severus and Philip, it is natural to infer that the word inscribed on the ark was the same in both; and so it appears by the Seguin and Ottoboni coins. On the other hand, the word NΩE is not to be found on any except the spurious one at Florence, and those which have been fabricated in the same manner. The true reading, therefore, being restored in the word NEΩK, the city where the coin was struck, as well as the history represented on the coin, are materially affected by the change. These two syllables will then be the initials of NEΩKOPΩN instead of terminating the word MARNHTΩN, and consequently the city of Magnesia will lose all its right to this medal. Apamea will enjoy it solely, and the union or *συνουσία* between those two cities, spoken of by Venuti and other writers,

[1] Prefixed to his notes on the Athletic inscriptions, and also to his Dissertation printed in Gronovius,



will vanish. It will be no less fruitless to search for those ideal personages, who are supposed, by a very learned and ingenious author, to be here pointed out under the title of APTEMAI-NHTEZ [m], and the legend without force or alteration will stand thus:

ΕΠΙ ΑΠΙΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΝΕΩΣ, thus rendered by Mons. Vaillant,

Sub Artema Agnothetæ tertium Apamensium Neocororum. This explanation is the more natural, as the name of Artemas occurs on a coin of Caracalla, struck also at Apamea:

ΕΠΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΕ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ [n].

There is also a praetor called Artemas, or Artemagus, on a coin of Herennia Etruscilla, struck at Magnesia ad Sipylum (a different city from that ad Maeandrum), which is mentioned by Vaillant and Harduin, who read the legend thus,

ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΣΙΠΥΛΟΥ [o].

HARDUIN supposes this to have been the same person who was praetor of Apamea: "Quem & Apamensium Phrygiae praetorem fuisse suo loco vidimus [p]." Probably the word Artemagus may be a contraction of the proper name Artemagus, or Artemagoras; otherwise the Γ must be a numeral, and the legend will be Artema tertium, as on the other coin; but besides the distance of those cities from each other, it seems a very improbable supposition, that the same man should be recorded as praetor,

[m] Bryant's Vindication of the Apamean medal, p. 13.

[n] Harduin's Nummi Antiqui, p. 25, and Vaillant, p. 98. This coin is in the French king's cabinet.

[o] This legend seems to confute Gori's opinion, that in the word APTEMAI-NHTON on Severus's medal, the syllable MA stands for the last in APTEMA and the first in MAI-NHTON; but besides that this word does not really exist on the medal, he would be at a loss to produce authority for such a contradiction.

[p] Nummi Antiqui, p. 98.

and



and in the same period of his office in both cities. This point, however, is not material to the present question. But it has been objected with regard to the word ΝΕΩΚ, that Apamea does not appear, by any coin or other record, to have enjoyed the Neocorate, though the city of Magnesia did, as is evident from a medal of Maximus quoted by Harduin [q],

ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ.

This objection, however, being merely negative, may not be thought conclusive; for, if the legends on these medaillons of Severus and Philip are really genuine, they will be sufficient to establish this fact.

WHAT has been already said relates only to the authenticity, condition, and legend of the medals in question; but the most material, and indeed the most difficult part of the enquiry, is the import of these emblematical figures on their reverse, and the history intended to be represented by them. The public has already before them three different opinions on this subject. That which arose from Falconeri's dissertation, and is adopted by Mr. Bryant [r], which supposes this reverse to allude to the Noachic deluge: That of Vaillant, and other subsequent medalists, who make it to be descriptive of Deucalion's flood: And the third opinion is that of Father Harduin, which differs from both these, and, as usual, is singular in its kind; for he tells us, that the ark floating among the waters represents the situation of Apamea between the rivers Marfyas, Obrimas, and Orgas; that the figures within and without the ark denote the Emperor and Empress; their up-lifted hands, and the dove with the branch, are emblems of the peace and tranquillity procured for Asia in general, and for this city in particular, by Severus's conquest over the Parthians. It may be sufficient merely to mention this last, which seems to want both date and conclusion.

[q] Nummi Antiqui, p. 97.

[r] Analysis of Antient Mythology, vol. ii. p. 230.



THE first of these hypotheses, as I have before observed, was very materially affected by the acknowledged spuriousness of the Florentine coin. The supposed name of the Patriarch being rejected, and the true legend restored, the figures and emblems are left to tell their own story, whether it relate to the flood of Noah, to that of Deucalion, or to any other event of a different nature and period.

It is confessedly difficult to suppose, that a fact in the Mosaiical history should be represented and described on a coin of the lower empire, struck in a city of Asia, where neither the inhabitants nor the mint-masters can well be supposed to have been either Jews or Christians. Had they been so, they could not have undertaken to record this event in so public a manner, without the permission of the Emperor; and should it be further supposed, that Philip was a convert to Christianity, which those learned writers, Mons. Tillemont, and Huet, have attempted to prove [s], yet even this would not solve the difficulty, because the same reason could not be applicable to the similar reverse on the coin of Severus, who was confessedly a heathen, and a violent persecutor of the Christians.

It would certainly give great weight to this opinion, if some characteristical marks could be pointed out on the coin peculiar to the scriptural history of the flood, and not applicable to that of Deucalion. And such at first sight appear to be the two birds, one represented sitting on the ark, the other flying towards it with a branch in its claws; provided that the former be supposed a raven, and the latter a dove; because both are mentioned as having been sent out by Noah to discover whether the waters were abated: but, on the other

[s] And were ably answered by father Monelia, a Dominican Frier, in a treatise intituled, *De utriusque Philippi Religione*. See Gori's Dissertation on this coin.



hand, it cannot be asserted, that the former is intended for a raven; and if it were, medalists have found an allusion from the blackness of that bird to the antient name of Apamea [t], which according to Pliny [u] was first called Celaenae, and according to Stephanus Κελαυναί. The eagle also (for so Harduin thinks it to be) was an emblem of this city, and appears on its medals; and the bird on the wing resembles an eagle on Severus's medaillon, though in Philip's it is more like a dove. But these two birds are equivocal emblems, for according to Plutarch [x] the dove attended Deucalion, and was a token to him of the increasing tempest by his return to the ark, and of fair weather when he came back no more; and Abydenus, as quoted by Eusebius [y] in relation to that deluge, speaks of *birds* in the plural as thrice sent out by Sifuthrus. The branch, indeed, is not taken notice of by any profane historian, and the Mosaical account represents only a leaf in the bird's mouth.

THE tradition of the Deucalionic flood being supposed more recent, and better preserved in the minds of the heathen, by forming a remarkable æra in their history of the world, was a more probable object of their attention; especially when it is considered, that many such allusions to different parts of profane history are to be found on their coins; but the representation of Noah's flood would be a single instance of scripture history recorded on a heathen medal.

It is with the greatest diffidence that I presume to doubt any opinion advanced by that most learned and ingenious author, whose Analysis of antient Mythology has enriched the public with such a treasure of learning, and who, with a goodness of

[t] Corvum. vero ob nigrorem symbolum esse quandoque Celaenes, Gori's Dissert. de Num. Apam. in Museo Florentino, t. iii. p. 154.

[u] L. v. c. 29.

[x] De Solertiâ animal. Tom. ii. p. 968. edit. Francfort, 1599.

[y] Praep. Evangel. p. 414, Paris, 1628.



heart equal to the extent of his abilities, has applied them to illustrate many important truths revealed in sacred history. As he wanted not various and abundant proofs of this event, he may well be justified in illustrating his other arguments by the mention of the Apamean coin of Philip; but as his reasoning, so far as the letters on the ark are concerned, was founded on the supposed authenticity of this coin, for which he ought not to be made answerable; the case may possibly now appear to him in a different light, at least he will only draw his conclusions from the number, attitude, &c. of the figures on the reverse: and, though the words ΝΕΩ and ΝΩΕ, under the conduct of his able pen, may be taught to speak the same language, yet the addition of a final K seems to determine the word to a different meaning; and instead of conveying the name of a Deity, or a Patriarch, points out a title or office belonging to the city where the medal was struck.

THIS objection may be thought of more consequence than a disquisition concerning the form of the ark, as represented on the medal, whether it be intended to represent a square or quinquelateral vessel; whether it be open at top, or covered with a flat or angular roof. Mr. Bryant's representation [z] undoubtedly differs from those in the Museum Florentinum, the French king's cabinet, and the Numismata Pembrochiana, as appears by the annexed plate, wherein they are all faithfully represented from the original engravings; but he cannot be charged with any considerable deviation from Falconeri's engraving, which probably was his archetype. The difference consists chiefly in this, that the descending line, which is drawn in Mr. Bryant's plate from the back of the ark, and is lost behind the second figure, forms a larger angle with the side or end line of the ark, than it does in Falconeri's, and therefore conveys the idea of an angular roof; whereas that line in Falconeri approaches so near to a

[z] Fig. vii. compared with No. v. and vi.



perpendicular, that it may seem to the eye rather as the end in perspective of an open boat or vessel, whose sides are of equal height. It is evident, however, from Falconeri's description of the coin, that the transverse line, resting on what he calls the *duo tigilli erecti*, was understood by him to represent a covering over the heads of the figures; and therefore it seems immaterial whether that roof was flat or angular: nor, indeed, can any satisfactory conclusion be drawn from the delineation of the spurious coin of Philip, nor even from the three different representations of the genuine medallion of Severus, exhibited in this plate, which, in some instances, vary from each other. I would extend this observation even to the coin itself, whereon the accuracy or skill of a mint-master cannot much be depended on, according to whose ideas and miserable perspective, the same figure might represent an open or a covered building, a boat or an ark, a suggestum or a temple; especially on the coins minted during the latter part of the empire, in the Asiatic provinces.

Nor does it seem material to enquire into the size of the ark, or the number of persons represented without or within it; for it was not the intention, much less was it within the capacity, of the mint-master to include such a variety of facts or personages within the narrow compass of a single reverse. It was thought sufficient, if he could mark the historical fact by one or two leading and well-known circumstances; so that if the Noachic deluge had been the object of his work, he could not have described all the persons contained in that vessel: much less could he have found room for the variety of animals preserved in it. The restoration of mankind, whether by Noah's or Deucalion's flood, was justly depicted in the persons of a male and female, whom history has pointed out as the parents of the postdiluvian world. They are represented in

one



one part of the reverse in an ark floating on the waters, in another part as just landed from it, with uplifted hands, in thankfulness to the Deity for their preservation. The repetition of the figures, far from being an objection to either of those histories, seems rather to give an additional illustration to the coin, and to ascertain the fact, by exhibiting the two persons in different situations. This liberty is sometimes taken in historical paintings, and the same figure appears in various parts of the picture.

BUT whether the sacred or profane history of the deluge was the object of this reverse, the word inscribed on the ark will be of very little use in explaining the figures. For, according to Vaillant, the word ΝΕΩΚ must be substituted instead of ΝΩΕ. The Abbé Barthelemy thinks that authority is wanting for both, and that neither of the words can be fairly traced on any of the genuine medals with this reverse; so that, ΝΩΕ appearing only on the spurious medaillon of Philip, it will be to no purpose to contend for it, either as the name of the Patriarch, or, according to Mr. Barrington [a], as the dual of the pronoun ΕΓΩ, put into the mouths of Deucalion and Pyrrha, to express their situation, and alluding to that passage in Ovid's *Metam.* lib. i.

“*Nos duo turba sumus.*”

For it is apprehended that this pronoun is *always* spelt with an Ι, and therefore, until some authority can be produced, either from MSS or printed books, of its being written with an Ε, neither the spelling, nor the meaning here given, can be justified from the Greek language.

It is also well known to all those who are conversant with medals, that they hardly ever speak a language like this. The office of the mint-masters was of a public and serious nature.

[a] See the preceding Dissertation, p. 315, & seqq.

They



They were employed in representing the ceremonies of religion, and the events of History, in the plainest and most intelligible manner, for the public information; and, though they might be tolerable mythologists, yet they could have nothing to do with poetry. It may be just matter of doubt, whether the name or writings of Ovid were known to the Apameans, situated at 500 miles distance from Tomis, the place of that poet's residence. It may be thought still less probable, that they should be so familiarised to his works as to allude to them on so remarkable an event by the application of a single pronoun, which did not convey so much information as might be learned from the number and attitude of the figures themselves: but this, being only matter of opinion, must be referred to the judgement of the reader.

BUT is there no other event to which these medals might refer? were there no religious or historical facts relative to Apamea, the circumstances of which may not have been transmitted to posterity, though they were well known at that time to the Apameans? Is any thing more frequent on the medals of the Asiatic cities than the representation of their local deities, temples, images, altars, and ceremonies of worship? Why may not the building represent a temple dedicated to some marine or river deities, situated, as the coin here represents it, at the confluence of, or upon the Apamean rivers, with the images of those deities in the temple? and may not the figures standing near the temple represent Worshipers, Priests, Editui or *Νεωκόροι*, especially as one of them is veiled like a Priest, and their right-hands are lifted up in the posture of adoration or thanksgiving? May not this have been a celebrated temple, for which games were instituted in the ceremonial of their worship, under the presidency of an *Αγνοθεῖα*; and to which, on such a supposition,



the title of *Νεωπολις* might be applicable. But, as nothing can be produced from history, from the state of these medals, or from their legends, to determine precisely the fact to which they allude, there is still ample room left for further conjecture; the principal object of this paper having been to shew the different state of the medals under consideration, to distinguish the spurious from the genuine coins, and rather to shew what consequences cannot be drawn, than to establish any certain ones, on so difficult a subject. But whatever these may be, it seems necessary that they should be deduced from the figures and legend on the Contour only, which are allowed by the best medalists to be genuine.





*Ex Museo Gul. Hunter M.D.*

*Ex Museo Christ. Regis.*

**XXIII. Remarks upon Mr. Bryant's Vindication of the Apamean Medal. By the Abbé Barthelemy and Mr. Charles Combe, F. R. and A. S.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 23, 1777.

**M**R. BRYANT, in his vindication of the Apamean Medal [a], seems not to be sensible of any other objection to his hypothesis than that taken notice of by the anonymous author there alluded to; though this writer appears so little acquainted either with medals or Greek (for if we retain his reading, OT. B. APXI. becomes inexplicable), that he scarcely

[a] Page 6, line 21.



seemed worthy of the notice of a gentleman so eminently distinguished for his learning and abilities. But those who are more conversant with this branch of science entertained doubts of the authenticity of the letters N.Ω.E. and even of the medal itself, nor were the letters N.H.T.Ω.N. on the medal of Severus, free from the same suspicions. The two medals we have of Philip in England are certainly false. That quoted by Falconieri had already been declared false by Gori [b], who, out of tenderness to the character of Falconieri, supposed it to have been changed; but, in order to obtain every information the nature of the enquiry would allow, I requested our worthy member Dr. Hunter, who had a correspondence with the learned abbé Barthelemy, keeper of the King of France's cabinet of coins, where the medal of Severus, quoted by Falconieri, is preserved, to transmit to him the following note.

"THE coins of Apamea in Phrygia having lately been the subject of much conversation among the literati in England, I take the liberty to trouble you for your opinion in regard to the genuineness of the medal of Severus mentioned by Vaillant in the King's cabinet with the following legend. EOI. ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΤ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. Γ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. ΝΕΩ. Type, the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. Falconieri, who has published the same medal, reads it ΕΠΙ. ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΤ. ΑΡΤΕ. ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. Whether either, or which, of the two is the true reading, I must beg you to determine. I shall likewise be much obliged to you for any information relative to the coin of Philip senior, with a similar type, mentioned by Falconieri and Vaillant,

[b] Sed quod nunc prae manibus habemus, proculdubio ex alio genuino antiquo typo expressus ac conflatus est; quare suspicandi ansa praebetur pro genuino, quod vidit Octavius Falconerius, hoc ipsum a sagaci aliquo homine inter videndum postmodum substitutum esse. Mus. Flor. vol. vi. p. 149.

though



though I have but little doubt in my own mind. Gori, you know, has asserted that in the Florentine cabinet to be false, and there are two in London which were supposed to be true, but are certainly not so. A little pamphlet of Mr. Bryant, which I have the honour to send you, has given rise to this enquiry. In it you will see his idea of ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. Mr. Pellerin, in his *Recueil des Medailles, &c.* plate xliii. fig. 17, has published one of Apamea, in bronze [c], inscribed ΑΠΑΜΕ. ΑΑΕΕΑΝ. ΑΡΤΕΜ, but has taken no notice of it in his letter-press. In Dr. Hunter's collection there is another [d] of the same metal, size, and type, with only ΑΠΑΜΕΩ. ΑΡΤΕ, without any other word. These two coins, with some others already published, may tend to explain the medal of Severus, if you should think it genuine; but if not, I should esteem your opinion of the word ΑΡΤΕΜ. a particular favour."

To these queries the ingenious Abbé, not less respectable for his politeness and affability, than his great learning and abilities, sent the following answer:

"The medallion of Apamea representing on one side the head of Severus, and on the other the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, is in the King's cabinet. It is the same that Vaillant has published, of which Seguin sent the drawing to Falconieri, and is well preserved. The inscription round the head is ΑΤΤ. Κ. Α. ΣΕΥΤ. ΚΕΟΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΤΙ: on the reverse ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ.

"I do not know why some have pretended to read upon the ark or chest these five letters ΝΗΤΩΝ. There is nothing to be seen but the letter Ν followed by two or three others, of which there remain only the slightest traces, or, to speak more accu-

[c] See the plate prefixed to these observations, No. 2.

[d] Ibid. No. 1.



rately, there is nothing but the contour of the second letter to be distinguished, which, according to different lights, appears sometimes an  $\Omega$ , sometimes an  $\epsilon$ .

"VAILLANT, and many other Antiquaries, have never entertained the least doubt about the genuineness of this medal; and indeed the workmanship, the form of the letters, and the weight, seem to take away all suspicions.

"THERE is another preserved at Rome in the Vatican, which formerly belonged to Cardinal Albani. It is engraved in abbé Venuti's work on the medals of this Cardinal. While I was at Rome, I compared this suite with the engravings and the abbé's explanations; but as I was at that time persuaded, that, upon these medallions of Apamea we should always read  $NE\Omega$  or  $NE\Omega K$ , I did not examine the letters represented on the ark with sufficient attention, and I see, by my notes, that I attended only to the legend in the contour. It is the same as that in the King's cabinet, except that in the word  $APTEMAR$ . the  $A$  is separated from the  $\Gamma$  by a point. This, I think, abbé Venuti has remarked. In the engravings we see two letters  $N\Omega$ , followed by some points. The abbé is inclined to think that  $NE\Omega K$  was formed from  $N\Omega E$ .

I HAVE already observed, that at first I supposed the same alteration: but I dare not insist upon such a conjecture. Apamea is not dignified with the Neocorate on any of its medals, at least I know none that give it this title. By what chance then came it to be only expressed upon those which represent the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha?

IN 1762, Father Khell published at Vienna some works of father Froelich, under this title, "*Erasmi Froelich de familia Vaballathi numis illustrata. Accedunt ejusdem adpendiculae duae ad numismata antiqua a Cl. Vaillantio olim edita.*" In the second of these



these supplements, p. 95, he has described a medallion with the type which makes the object of our present enquiry. On one side, the head of Macrinus, ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΟΝΕΑ. CEOT. ΜΑΚΡΕΙΝΟC. CEBA; on the reverse the same type as upon the medal of Severus; in the exergue ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ and no name of a magistrate; upon the face of the ark ΝΩ. Father Froelich pretends that these two letters are clearly expressed upon the medal, and although he is persuaded that the ark contains Noah and his wife, known to the Greeks under the name of Deucalion and Pyrrha, yet he does not venture to assert that we ought to read ΝΩΕ, ΝΩΗ, ΝΩΑ, or even ΝΩΝ, the termination of the word ΠΕΡΦΑΜΗΝΩΝ, of which the first letters in the contour of the medal are totally obliterated. This conjecture supposes that the reverse of the medal had a legend, and father Froelich imagines that there remain some traces of it: it is not, however, easy to judge of the authenticity of this medal.

THE medallion of Philip with the same type is preserved in the King's cabinet. It is perfectly like that which Falconieri has engraved, but the two or three letters on the ark are entirely defaced. I have never been satisfied with this medal. The first glance of it is very unfavourable, and our suspicions increase in proportion as we examine it with more attention. Falconieri, p. 251. has cited three medals of Apamea with the head of Philip: one in the cabinet of the Grand Duke, with the name of ΝΩΕ clearly expressed; but this coin is false according to Gori, who, to save the credit of Falconieri, supposes that a false medal has been substituted for a true one. The second medal cited by Falconieri belonged to Cardinal Ottoboni; in this, only the letter Ν was to be seen. The third was the property of Cardinal Chigi, the letters entirely defaced. So they are on that belonging to the King: if they are so upon your coins,



coins, the same letters precisely are found destroyed or rubbed upon the six medals of Philip, whilst the legend in the counter is upon all well preserved, or at least very legible. The same singularity is found in the two medals of Severus, and in that of Macrinus. I know very well that these letters being on a part in relief have been more exposed to friction than the others; but it is nevertheless extraordinary, that they should not be preserved entire on any one of nine medals.

On considering all these monuments, it appears to me probable that the word in question began with ΝΕΙ, and that perhaps it contained only these two letters. What they mean, or whether they have been added by the tool of a falsifier, I don't know; and it is but one of the innumerable particulars relating to medals, on which I must acknowledge my ignorance. This, however, I will venture to affirm that nothing at present appears to authorise us to read ΝΕΙΕ, ΝΕΩ, or ΝΕΩΚ.

If the medallions of Philip in Italy are not more authentic than those in the King's, or Dr. Hunter's cabinet, we may easily trace the progress of the falsifier. He had copied the reverse of the medal of Severus, and took the legend ΕΠΙ Μ. ΑΤΡ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Β. ΑΡΧΙ. ΑΥΓΑΣΤΩΝ from another medal of Philip, struck in the same city, upon which we find nearly the same inscription.

The termination ΝΗΤΩΝ, which some have thought they discovered on the medal of Severus, has misled Mr. Bryant, and before him Falconieri, Buonarotti, and some other antiquaries; who joining the letters ΝΗΤΩΝ with the last letters of the legend, have formed the word ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. But the word ΑΡΤΕΜ, or ΑΡΤΕΜΑ, is certainly the abbreviation of the name of a magistrate, for the following reasons: 1st, it was not the custom to express upon a medal the quality of a  
magistrate



magistrate without mentioning his name; which must be the case if we allow the application of Mr. Bryant: 2dly, on a medal in small brass, described by Vaillant, and preserved in the King's cabinet, having on one side the head of Caracalla opposite to that of Plautilla, and on the reverse an eagle, in the contour ΕΙΗ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. Γ. ΑΠΑΜΕΙC. ΚΟΙΝΟΝ. ΦΡΥΓΙΩΝ. the point between the second Α and the Γ is very visible; it separates also these two letters on the medallion of Severus, in the Vatican: 3dly, on a medal of the same prince, struck at Gordiana in Galatia, and described by Vaillant, we read ΕΙΗ. ΑΥΡ. ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ. ΤΟΥ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. ΑΡΧ. Α, &c. this Aurelius Julianus was then the son of an Artemagoras; from which it follows, that ΑΡΤΕΜΑ must be the name of a magistrate. Mr. Pellerin calls him Artemagoras, and I think he is right.

THE medal you cite after Mr. Pellerin, tom. ii. des Villes, pl. xliii. is very accurately represented ΑΠΑΜΕ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝ. ΑΡΤΕΜ. that is to say, ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓΟΡΟΥ. I put these two names in the genitive case, because such appears to me to have been the usage observed on the medals of Apamea. By the medals of Severus and Philip we see that Artemagoras filled one of the principal dignities under the first of these princes; and Alexander under the second. It is natural to conclude, that Alexander on Mr. Pellerin's medal was son of an Artemagoras; very probably of that Artemagoras mentioned on Dr. Hunter's medal; for you know that among the Greeks, the eldest of the grandsons took the name of the grandfather; and thus two names were perpetuated alternately, during many generations, in the same family.

LASTLY, I think, we should not suspect the medal of Severus solely on account of the singularity of the type, nor, on the



other hand, should we lay too much stress on it. The Greeks long before this medal was struck were acquainted with Deucalion's deluge; and particular circumstances may have engaged the inhabitants of Apamea to revive the memory of it on their medals.

FATHER Froelich, in explaining the medallion of Macrinus, endeavours to form some conjectures about these circumstances. He says, page 97, "*Arbitror itaque Augustum et Augustam*" "*extra arcam, velut novum Noë, seu Deucalionem et Pyrrham*" "*effictos, quo symbolo eos velut conservatores humani generis*" "*aut reparatores, græcula adfentatione, honorarent Apameni.*" But, if we chuse to indulge such conjectures as these, we shall find more probable ones to explain the medal of Severus.

SEVERUS, knowing the name of Antoninus to be in great esteem among the Romans, caused his son Caracalla to assume it, in order to render himself more agreeable to the people; and about the time that these medals were struck, he married Caracalla to Plautilla; he likewise set out on a progress to regulate the affairs of the East; and preparations were made for celebrating the Secular Games. All these circumstances were undoubtedly sufficient to warm the imagination of the Greeks. Severus and his son were, in their eyes, the precious remains of a family who had been the happiness of the empire, and whom the Gods had preserved to perpetuate this happiness. You perceive, Sir, with what facility we may extend all these ideas; but you likewise perceive how little stress I lay on them. I am not so eager to penetrate the secrets of the Apameans, as I am to shew my readiness to answer the questions contained in your letter. I am not able to give you greater eclairsissements on this subject, as I love rather to doubt than decide."

THUS



THUS far the learned Abbé, who has been so very full on this subject, that it seems needless to enlarge upon it. The letters NΩE, which for years have misled ingenious antiquaries, must now be given up; indeed, in all probability, no letters were originally on the ark; but some person, struck with the singularity of the type, thought fit to encrease the astonishment in others, by faintly adding with a tool the letter N, and an imperfect letter or two following: and as no authority now remains for reading NHTΩN, the new set of beings called *Artimagnetes* will of course vanish. But if Mr. Bryant, or any other gentleman, who think a different inference should be drawn from that which seems to strike the learned Abbé, they certainly have a right to their opinion; the authenticity of the medal of Severus, and the true reading, are now established for them; and *valeant quantum valere possunt.*



**XXIV. Account of Coins, &c. found in digging up the Foundations of some old Houses near the Church of St. Mary Hill, London, 1774. By the Rev. Dr. Griffith, Rector of that Church.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 6, 1776.

TO EDWARD KING, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

**I** HERE send you, according to your desire, a particular account of the coins found in my parish, of which I before shewed you some specimens. If, on looking over this account, you shall think it worth the notice of the respectable Society of Antiquaries, you are extremely welcome to lay it before them.

I am, Sir;

Your faithful, humble servant,

St. Mary Hill,  
Feb. 27, 1776.

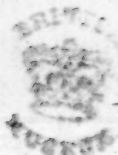
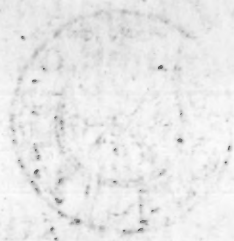
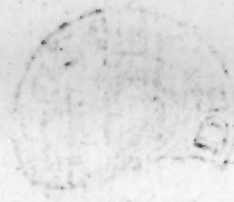
GUYON GRIFFITH.

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ON the 24th of June 1774, a number of labourers were employed in preparing a foundation for a large sugar warehouse, intended to be built upon the site of several old houses that had been pulled down for that purpose, near St. Mary Hill church, on the east side of Love Lane.

WHEN







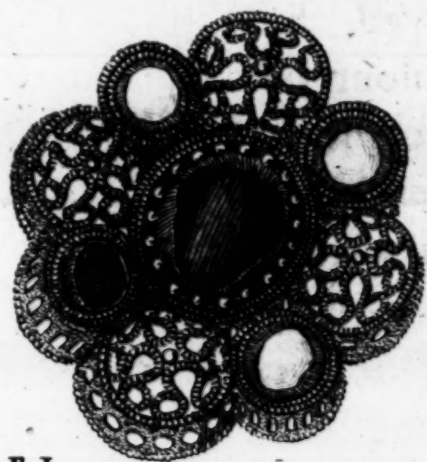
*New Types found in the Parish of St. Mary Hill, London, June 24<sup>th</sup> 1774*



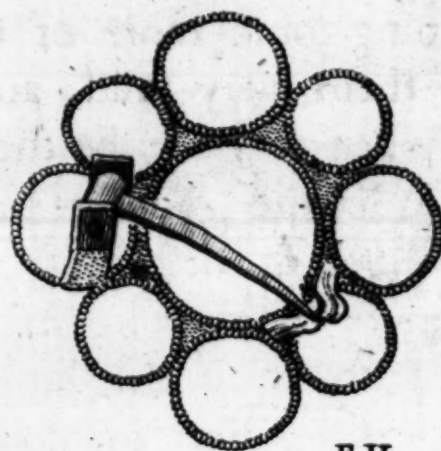
*Edward,  
the  
Confessor.*



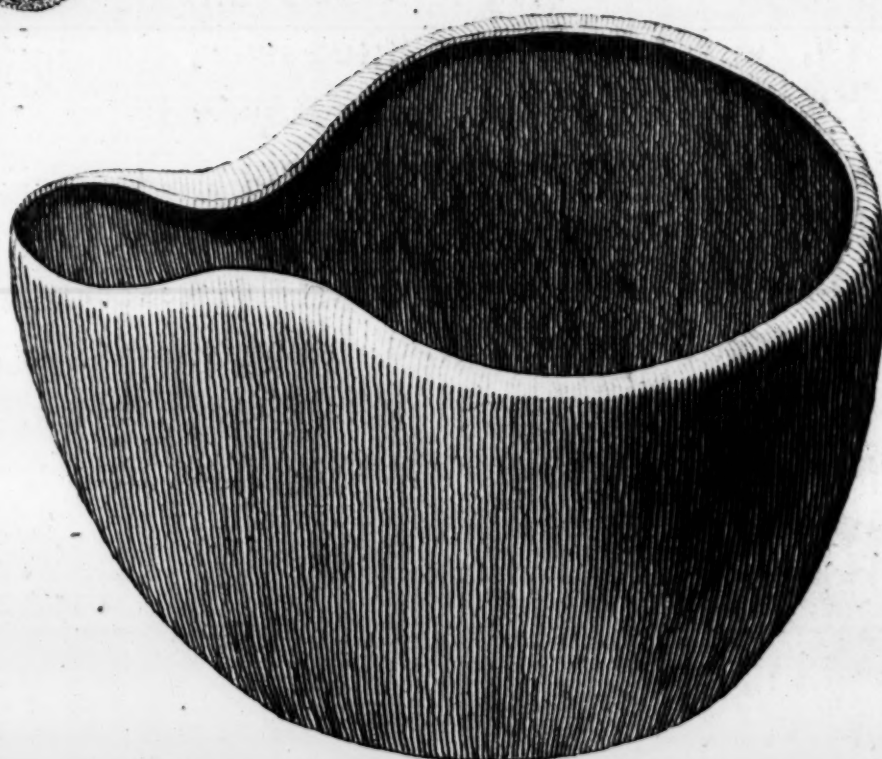
*William, the Conqueror.*



F. I.



F. II.



F. III.



WHEN they had cleared away the ground to the depth of fourteen or fifteen feet below the level of the street, they struck with their pick-axes an *earthen vessel* that stood upright in the ground, about eighteen or twenty inches beneath the brick pavement of a cellar. There immediately fell out a considerable number of round pieces of metal, most of them very black, and many so much decayed as to crumble to pieces in handling. But the labourers, supposing they were of some value, had begun to put many of them into their pockets, when the foreman of the work coming up, and observing the decay of the pieces he first saw, told the men they were not at all worth their minding; upon which many of them were thrown immediately into the rubbish-cart, that happened to stand near. However, on examining some more of them which were well preserved, he found them very solid, and readily changing to the colour of silver, when rubbed; he therefore took a handful of them himself, and let the labourers take the rest; yet, having been scattered about at first, and confusedly gathered up afterwards, numbers of them were mixed with the rubbish, and carried along with it to the lay-stall. And, accordingly, when the carter was applied to, soon afterwards, to search among the rubbish he had shot down, he got some of it sifted over, and by that means between forty and fifty pieces were recovered.

WITHIN the earthen vessel that was broken by the pick-axes, was found a *smaller one*, lying with its mouth downwards, and covering a number of coins that were in the finest preservation, and many of them scarce discoloured at all. Among them lay a *fibula*, of fine gold, very neatly wrought in filigree: in the center of it was set a sapphire; and in the margin, four pearls, of which three only remained. See pl. XXI. fig. i. and ii.

THE



THE *larger* of the two earthen vessels, having been broken into several pieces, was not preserved with any care. It was of a blueish-coloured earth, of a close texture, about a quarter of an inch thick, and was judged to contain near two quarts; its shape was like that of an urn.

THE *smaller* vessel, which remains entire, is of a brownish earth, inclining to red, of a stony, granulated texture, about an eighth of an inch thick, and bears evident marks of having been used for the melting of metal; but is of a different shape from our modern crucibles, as will appear from the enclosed sketch of it, *fig. iii.* It contains four ounces and a half troy measure, is three inches and a quarter long, two inches and a quarter high, and two inches and an eighth wide at its greatest breadth, for it gradually contracts itself into a lip at one end.

IN regard to the coins themselves, it is not easy to judge how many there were at first, nor what number of them was preserved; but thus much may be depended upon: that between three and four hundred of them having been carefully examined, they were found to consist entirely of the pennies of Edward the Confessor, Harold II. and William the Conqueror. And it is remarkable, that in an earthen vessel, containing above 200 pennies, found in June 1739, at Dyns Marsh in Lydd between Dengeness and Lydd, on the land late Payne's, now Samuel Jeak's, esq. of Rye, by a carpenter putting down a fence post, they likewise appeared, on examination, to belong to one or other of the same three monarchs. In both instances, there were many exact halves and quarters, intermixed with the whole pennies.

AMONG the pennies of Edward (which proved considerably above half of the number examined) were many fine specimens of six known types, corresponding to N° 1. 8. and 17. of *Edward*, in tab. vi. and N° 25. 35. and 42. in tab. vii. of Hickes's *Thesaurus*.

As



As the *sovereign penny* (or whole length figure seated in state) was a type peculiar to the Confessor, till Henry III. in 1257, made it in the pattern for his gold penny, it was thought worth while, in examining those pieces of Edward, to note down their different moneyers and towns, of which the former amounted to 27, the latter to 16: and it may not be amiss to subjoin a list of them, especially as I apprehend, that out of these 16 towns, only four of them with this type have been published.

BESIDES the six known types above mentioned, there were two others of this king, which were unknown before. See the plate.

THE *one* has a profile head on its obverse, and on its reverse four martlets; which reverse, till this piece was discovered, was always supposed to have been appropriated to the Confessor's *sovereign penny*.

THE *other* has the same reverse as N° 17, referred to above; but differs from it very materially in the obverse; having the profile head turned to the right, and without either arm or hand to support the sceptre; besides some other distinguishing circumstances. It is observable, that this piece was along with those which I mentioned above as having been recovered from the rubbish on the lay-stall.

AMONG the pennies of Harold II. were 31 different moneyers, and 22 towns; and many very fair specimens of the only known type of this king, viz. on the obverse, a profile head, generally with a sceptre, but sometimes without it; and for a reverse, the word PAX.

How this singular word came to be placed on the reverse of this king, as also on that of Edward the Confessor, William I. and Henry I. and of no other, may be matter of curious speculation to the historical Antiquary.

THE opinion of Sir Andrew Fountaine in Hickes's *The-saurus* [a], and of Mr. Walker in Camden's *Britannia* [b], who

[a] See Explanation of N° 1—7. Tab. viii. p. 180.

[b] See Explanation of N° 11 and 37. Tab. vii. Saxon Coins.



concur in attributing to the son of Canute, the pennies of Harold with *Pax* on the reverse, is now generally deemed erroneous [c]. And I cannot help observing, how strong a presumptive evidence here arises for assigning all those pennies to that Harold who succeeded the Confessor, and was followed by William; with the coins of which two kings only they were intermixed, in great numbers, both in this hoard at *St. Mary Hill*, and in that at *Dyns Marsh* above-mentioned.

THE pennies of William the Conqueror, that were gained on this occasion, though much fewer than those of Edward, yet will probably be thought by the curious not less interesting; since, in the first place, they afford several fine specimens of four known types [d], but more particularly of that with the *canopy*; of which rare type [e], the pieces that have been saved out of this hoard alone, present us with no less than sixteen different moneyers, and nine towns; which I shall hereafter enumerate.

I MUST further observe concerning these pieces, that among them there is *one*, which exhibits, both on the obverse and reverse, a very different type from what is seen on any other known *canopy*. See the plate.

THE singularity of this coin consists in its having, on the *obverse*, the head and canopy surrounded with an inner circle that separates the head from the shoulders, a pellet on each side of the face, and the canopy supported, not by a couple of small similar pillars, but by two sceptres, the right pointed with three pearls, the left with a cross paté; and on the *reverse* (like that of the double-sceptered Conqueror) a carbuncle [f] alternately fleury and

[c] The same error is observable in the engraved plates of the earl of Pembroke's collection, in regard to the arrangement of the coins of the two Harolds. See part IV. tab. iii.

[d] See N° 1, 2, 5, and 7. in Plate i. published by the Society of Antiquaries.

[e] See Snelling's view of the silver coin, page 4; and N° 6, in his first plate.

[f] See explanation of the reverse in N° 5. and N° 1. in Plate i. by the Society of Antiquaries.



prometté, pierced in the center, instead of the mascle pointed with treble knots, in the center an annulet, which appears on the reverse of every other known canopy.

When I mentioned above, that the sovereign-type of Edward, the pennies in general of Harold, and the canopy-type of William furnished, respectively, a list of 27, 31, and 16 moneyers, it would naturally be supposed, that the number of moneyers was but small, when compared with the number of pieces of each sort. Yet the fact happens to be far otherwise; for, putting out of the question one piece, on which the name of the moneyer is not sufficiently legible, though I am satisfied from some circumstances that this also was struck by a different moneyer from the rest; I say, putting this piece out of the question, the number of moneyers is exactly equal to that of the several pieces, nor is there, among those of the same type, one duplicate moneyer.

Whether or no the five other types of Edward afforded the same variety of moneyers as his sovereign-type did, I cannot pretend to say, since that circumstance did not happen to be attended to, in looking them over. But as to the three other types of William, they were found, on examination, exactly to correspond in this particular with his canopy-type; nor did any two of them with the same type bear the name of the same mint-master.

From this remarkable circumstance relative to the coins themselves, added to the discovery of a melting pot among them, it seems probable, that they belonged to some moneyer, or other curious person connected with the mintage, who, with a particular view, had collected from different mints so great a number of single specimens.



I HAVE only to add further, that the new types described above, together with near 150 pieces more (consisting chiefly of the fairest and most curious specimens of this hoard), are in the valuable collection of Mr. John White of Newgate Street, to whose very obliging communications I am indebted for several particulars of this account, and also for a drawing of the three types, which, as far as I can learn, are all uniques.

P. S. ON digging deeper in some parts of the same ground, some fragments of Roman bricks, and a few pieces of the middle brads of Domitian, were thrown up. The bones also of several children, and of five or six full-grown persons, were discovered. But as there were no circumstances of curiosity attending any of these particulars, it is sufficient just to mention the bare fact.

A LIST



A LIST of MONEYES and TOWNS

On the *Sovereign* Type of  
Edward the Confessor.

On the Pennies of Harold II.

On the *Canopy* Type of  
William the Conqueror.

Alfworld on Wilt  
Arufi . . . . . Lei  
Aegelric on Her  
Blacere on Theot  
Brind on Hestein  
Brintric on Coln  
Deorman on Lund  
Dudinc on Mornidune  
Elfrinc on Dearby  
Edwin on Lunde  
Foll on Sudri  
Godric on Searum  
Godric on Wilt  
Godwine on Stam  
Godwine on Lunde  
Godwine on Oxon  
Herrep on Wiltun  
Jocetel on Eofe  
Mann on Canwai  
Mann on Linco  
Sideman on Wiltun  
Thorcil on Linco  
Thurcil on Wiltu  
Ulfketel on Eofr  
Wulfred on Lund  
Wulfwine on Lund  
Wulfgar on Lund

Alfwold on Wiltu  
Aelfwine on Oxenca  
Brand on Walf  
Colspen on Aestr  
Edric on Lincol  
Edwine on Lund  
Elfwine on Thetfo  
Forna on Snotin  
Geofric on Lunden  
Godric on Theot  
Godric on Lund  
Godwine on Cice  
Godwine on Humid  
Leofric on Can  
Leofric on Stanf  
Leofric on Wince  
Leofti on Lunden  
Lifinc on Execes  
Outhbearn on Eof  
Sprateling on \*  
Slric on Herefo  
Stetman on Ma  
Swaine on Hampt  
Theofwold on Win  
Thurgod on Theotf  
Thurcil on Wiarwi  
Ulfcetel on Eofe  
Urftan on Nor  
Wulfwi on Colnceft  
Wulfwine on Bedef  
Wulgar on Lund

Agelwi on Oxene  
Aegelric on Lund  
Aelffig on Lund  
Brunwine on Stan  
Godric on Theot  
Godwine on Lund  
Leofric on Lund  
Lufwine on Eofe  
Mann on Canwai  
Ofbearn on Theot  
Sideman on Warrn  
Spotting on Exc  
Wiltune on Canwa  
Winerac on Leweis  
Winted on Lund  
Wulfwine on Canwa

27

31

16

\* This fills up the whole Exergue, and leaves no room for the name of the town.

A a a 2

XXV. Ob-



364  
**XXV. Observations on Ancient Castles.**  
**By Edward King, Esq.**

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 21, 28, and April 18, 1776.

To the Rev. Doctor MILLES, Dean of Exeter,  
President of the Society of Antiquaries.

John Street, March 9, 1776.

SIR,

**P**ERMIT me, through your hands, to lay before the Society over which you so worthily preside, the enclosed papers, relating to a subject not foreign to their enquiries. I am sensible indeed there needs some apology for the many imperfections and errors that may be found therein; but, as I am persuaded they will meet with the greatest degree of candor, I venture without any further hesitation to introduce this little essay, under your sanction, to the consideration of those, who I trust will both rectify the errors, and add many more curious observations to these imperfect hints.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

EDWARD KING.

OB.



OBSERVATIONS  
ON ANCIENT CASTLES.

AS an acquaintance with ancient manners and customs is essentially necessary in order to our well understanding the History of past ages, so those Antiquities which tend to illustrate and explain the arts, usages, and modes of living, of our forefathers, both in war and in peace, become daily more interesting objects of our enquiries.

THE lapse of time unavoidably obliterates the remembrance of these things. And, unless we have recourse to a careful and exact survey and consideration of such kinds of Antiquities, our ideas are apt to be contracted by the constant contemplation of the manners of the age in which we ourselves live; and we are apt to consider *them* as the standard whereby to judge of, and to explain, the history of past times; than which there cannot be a more delusive error; nor indeed is there any more effectual method to prevent our understanding the truth of things, or to hinder our forming a right judgement of the characters of men, or of the times.

As such antiquities, therefore, deserve our most careful inspection, it may, I apprehend, be a subject not unworthy our attention, to examine, amongst the rest, with some degree of accuracy, the Monuments of Ancient Fortification still extant in this country. And they the rather deserve consideration, because many of them have for some years been so totally neglected, and so wantonly mutilated, that they are hastening to utter ruin and oblivion; and there are likely to be very soon but few traces of them left: and those which have resisted the common decays of time, have yet undergone such great alterations, in order to adapt them to uses very different from the purposes for which they were originally constructed, that they have almost entirely lost the very appearance of their ancient form;



form; and those parts of their structure which were the most curious, and worth notice, are entirely defaced.

VESTIGIA sufficient, however, do still remain, and may with care be traced out amidst these venerable ruins, to enable us, on comparing them one with another, to investigate the original plan and design of these curious strong-holds. And an attentive examination of their structure will help us to form clear ideas of some of the most important parts of history; and will also make us understand more fully the gradual progress of arts.

MR. Grose's most useful work has preserved very good representations of the present *external* appearance of many of these remains; and, in the preface to that performance, a very useful account is given of the general plan of the *outworks* of many great castles: but as it was not necessary to his undertaking, to enter into a minute description of the peculiar mode of fortification observed in the structure of the towers themselves, and of the keeps of these castles; and possibly the several curious and minute particulars, which are necessary to be observed in order to explain that matter, did not fall under his immediate observation; we have not, either from him, or indeed from any other person, as yet, any exact account of that very singular part of ancient Architecture.

I SHALL, therefore, in order if possible to supply that defect, in some small degree, venture to lay before the Society such observations as I have been able to make, on surveying, with a good deal of care and exactness, some of the principal ancient fortresses in this kingdom.

It is not the view of any one of them singly, that will enable a person fully to comprehend the curious artifices made use of, and the ingenious contrivances, both for strength and defence, and for annoying the besiegers, and for the convenience and use of those who were to defend the works. Those various circumstances



cumstances can only be investigated by a comparison of several castles one with another; and by observing in what respects one general plan and design was carried on in all, though with some variety of execution. And it is even necessary to examine the same building repeatedly, after having surveyed several others, in order to be assured that the conclusions concerning any one of them are right.

BUT although this method was proper to be adopted in the beginning of the enquiry concerning their structure and use, perhaps the best means of explaining the conclusions that have been drawn, and of rendering the whole intelligible to others, may be to give a description, completely and fully, of one of the most perfect edifices of this sort.

I SHALL select therefore, for that purpose, the work of a most celebrated ancient architect, the castle of *Rochester*, which was in great part re-edified, if not originally built, by the famous bishop Gundulph, about the year 1088; and certainly owed a great part of its plan to his designs; and is one of the finest remains of antiquity in this country. It is true, part of it is said to have been beaten down in king John's time; but the uniformity of the whole shews that it was most certainly repaired in a manner similar to that of the original construction; and, therefore, that the injury was not such as should prevent our selecting it on this occasion, before all others.

THIS castle stands on the banks of the river Medway, being built near the brow of a considerable hill; and its principal tower, which is nearly square (being about 75 feet by 72), is so situated, as to command both the river and the whole adjacent country: and it was fortified with strong out-works, and deep ditches; and had a considerable area around it, enclosed for the use of the garrison. Of these out-works however, I shall enter  
into



into no particular description, because their general nature has been well explained by Mr. Grose; and the peculiar subject of this paper is meant to be confined more particularly to the structure and contrivance of the tower itself.

AND here the circumstances most manifestly endeavoured to to be provided for, by the architect, were,

1st, THE security of the entrance; and the rendering it both difficult to an enemy, and yet so magnificent, as to be suitable to the dignity of the person who was to have his residence, as commander in chief, in the apartments of this building.

2dly, THE protection of the whole garrison, in case of a close siege, and after the out-works should be taken; and the constructing the building in such a manner, that they might not be annoyed by the weapons of the enemy, nor be subject to have their apartments set on fire; and, at the same time, the devising a means to enable them, with safety to their own persons, to annoy the besiegers.

3dly, THE contriving to mislead and deceive the besiegers, and to draw their attacks upon such parts of the building as were in reality the strongest, and least liable to be injured by them.

4thly, THE security of the stores: and the securing of the prisoners, in such a manner as to need no very considerable guard.

5thly, THE easy conveyance of the great engines of war, such as balistae, catapultae, warwolves, and other offensive weapons, into the various apartments, and up to the top of the tower.

6thly, THE means of giving a quick alarm to all the garrison, without any confusion, or suffering the enemy to be apprised of it.

7thly,



7thly, THE supplying the garrison with water.

8thly, THE conveying away the smoak from the apartments; and the forming of drains to carry off the filth.

AND lastly, The providing an habitation for the commandant in chief, or lord of the castle, both stately and airy, and free from the annoyance of the enemy's instruments of war.

AND we shall find that all these ends were obtained by the most ingenious devices.

FOR, in the first place, as to the entrance, nothing can be conceived more completely adapted to answer the double purpose both of state and security. It was not in this castle (nor indeed in any other antient castle that I have ever seen), in the lower story, or upon the ground, or near it; but at a considerable height: and was by means of a grand stair-case, which went partly round two of the fronts of the castle, on the outside, and terminated in a grand portal. But, before this portal could be entered, there was a draw-bridge to be passed; the pulling up of which cut off all communication whatever with the flight of steps. And there was also a strong gate about the middle of the stair-case, between the foot of it and the draw-bridge.

NOR was this the only security; for even the grand portal, beyond the bridge, was not the entrance of this fortress itself; but merely the entrance of a small adjoining tower; the whole of which latter might be demolished, without any material injury to the body of the castle. Within this little tower was a sort of vestibule; and from thence was a second entrance (the real entrance of the great tower itself), through a second portal, placed in the thickness of the wall; which was here about twelve feet thick. And this second entrance, as well as the first portal, was defended by a portcullis, or herse, sliding in a strong stone groove; and also by a strong pair of gates. So that there were three strong gates to be forced, and two portcullises to be



destroyed, before this entrance could be gained: and one pair of gates was to be broken down, and the draw-bridge, at a great height to be re-placed, before even the first portcullis could be approached.

How strong the mode of fortifying by means of the portcullis was, before the invention of cannon, is so well known, that it is almost needless to describe it: but as it will tend to explain some other parts of the building, I will just mention, that the herse, or portcullis, was a strong grating of timber, fenced with iron, made to slide up and down in a groove of solid stone work, within the arch of the portal, just as a sash-window does in its frame; and that its bottom was furnished with sharp iron spikes, designed both to strike into the ground or floor, for the sake of greater firmness and solidity, and also to destroy and break whatever should be under it at the time of its being let fall. And its groove was always contrived so deep in the stone work, that it could not be injured, or removed, without pulling down the whole wall.

THE remains of the grooves of both the portcullises, in both the portals above described, with the places for working them in the rooms above, may still be plainly perceived; as also the remains and places of the hinges of the gates.

WE may also perceive that, for state, there were in the thickness of the wall, at the second entrance, two stone seats in large niches, for the wardours; or for those who *by military tenure* kept castle guard.

AND on the mention of this tenure, I cannot but observe, that although the opinion of Lord Coke be not always proper to be relied upon, as an Antiquary; yet as a Lawyer, his is undoubtedly the best authority; and he mentions, with regard to the tenure by Castle Guard, or Ward, a curious circumstance, which



which may tend much to illustrate what is here said. He tells us [a], that the tenure was required to be *certain*, and that it was not sufficient to be in *general words, to defend the Castle*; but that it was required to be, to defend a tower, *a door*, a bridge, a sconce, or some other *certain part* of the castle. From whence we may conclude, that these seats I have been describing, were originally annexed to the tenures of those persons, who were, by virtue thereof, to defend the great gates.

BESIDES this grand entrance, there was none other of any consequence; and indeed there was no possibility of getting in or out of the castle otherwise than by it, except by a small sally-port; which was a narrow door-way, situated directly under the draw-bridge, and therefore in a place where any assailants might easily be annoyed, both from the top of the stone steps, and from the first portal; and, if there were any machicolations over that portal, (as I suspect there were) by them also. And this little sally-port was at such an height from the ground, that it could not be approached, except by a scaling-ladder; having no stone, or fixed steps, to it.

AND lest even this entrance, thus secured, should be forced, provision was made, within the castle, that it should give no easy admittance to the main body of the building: for, from hence, to the apartments on the floor above, in which was the grand entrance, there was no ascent, except by *one* small winding stair-case only; although, in the next story, there were no less than *three* convenient stair-cases, leading to the upper apartments of the castle. And this *one* stair-case was so narrow, that a private centinel alone might easily defend the passage; and it was moreover well secured by strong doors.

[a] On Litt. 83.



BUT all these particulars will be better understood, by a plan and elevation of this building.

FIG. I. and II. plate XXII. are plans of the tower: the first being designed to represent the floor, on which the grand entrance is, at the top of the flight of steps (a plan of the stair-case also being added on the outside): and the second being a plan of the floor above, on which were the state apartments.

AND Fig. III. represents the elevation of this tower, on the N. E. side, with the little tower adjoining, in which is the vestibule, and grand entrance.

IN Fig. I. (a b c), is the grand flight of steps, the bottom being at (a); and at (f), on the first landing, was a strong arch over head, and a great maffy gate. At (d) was the first grand portal, fortified both by a strong gate, and a portcullis. And between (c) and (d) was the draw-bridge. At (e) was the vestibule; and at (g) the second grand portal, fortified also by another gate, and another portcullis; and at (h) are the great niches on both sides, in the wall, with stone benches, for the wardours, or those who kept castle-guard at the gate.

IN the plan of the grand floor, Fig. II. (i) is the place over the last portal, for working the herse, or portcullis; and to this there was an approach from a gallery within the thickness of the wall, which I shall more particularly describe hereafter; and (k) is the place, over the first portal, for working its portcullis; and the approach to this place was from the former, and through the chamber over the vestibule.

IN fig. III. (1 and 2) shew the remains of the grand stair-case; and (4) the grand portal, the bottom of which is even now above twenty feet from the ground, notwithstanding the soil has been manifestly raised by time. And (3) is the sally-port, the bottom of which is even still at the height of seven feet from the ground, and



and was undoubtedly more in former times; and over the top of it must have been the draw-bridge. And here I cannot but just observe, that perhaps from this grand stair-case on the outside of this building, we may form some idea of that of the castle of Antonia, at Jerusalem; from whence St. Paul addressed the people, when he had been just rescued from a tumult, by the commanding officer; and we may probably, thereby, be the better enabled to understand that piece of history. And I may add that Josephus's account of that tower, which was square, and at the corner of the area of the castle, next the temple, renders this conclusion not improbable.

BUT to proceed; at (l) in fig. I. is the present entrance, on the ground, which is most evidently nothing more than a modern breach in the wall, at a place where was formerly only a very small loop-hole, like those I shall presently describe. At (m) is the only stair-case that goes down to the ground-floor; and at (n) and (o) are the two other stair-cases, which begin at this floor, where the grand entrance was, and from thence go up to the top of the castle.

IN the next place, the contrivances in the structure of this tower, for the protection of the garrison in case of a close siege, and after the outworks should be taken, were most remarkable; and the methods devised to secure them from being annoyed by the enemy's weapons, and yet to enable them, at the same time, to annoy the besiegers, were most curious, and well deserve our notice.

ON the ground-floor, there were no windows at all; and even very few loop-holes, and those exceedingly small; being not much above six inches square. On the north-east side there were absolutely none; and on the others only two at most, on any one side; and on one or two sides only one. And their structure and situation was such, that no weapon shot in could possibly enter far



far enough, to fall into the apartments; nor could any fire-brand thrown in do mischief, or reach further than the bottom of the arches through which these loop-holes were approached, from within the castle.

AND even in the story over this, on the first floor, which are the grand portals, there were no windows within the tower itself, but only loop-holes.

As to the third story, which contained the rooms of state, although there were indeed, in these rooms, most magnificent windows, yet they were placed so high in the apartments, which were, on that very account, exceedingly lofty, and they were so contrived, that it was almost impossible for any weapon to be shot into the room, so as to do any hurt; for, if it went at all ascending, it would strike against a low arch, purposely contrived over every window, and could not enter the room at all; and if it was shot with such force, and from such a distance, as to enter the room nearly horizontally, it must then have force also to go quite across the room, at a great distance over head, and most probably would lodge in the arches of the wall on the opposite side; and could hardly ever fall into the room by any means; and if it did so by great chance, it must be after having first struck the opposite wall, and lost all its force.

BUT, in order to understand this matter more fully, it is necessary to have recourse to some drawings. Fig. IV. therefore, shews the front view of an arch on the ground-floor, in the thickness of the wall, and its correspondent loop-hole, as seen within the castle. And fig. V. is a section of the same.

AND here we may observe, that the loop-hole is placed at the end of an arch cut through the wall, which is in this part at least twelve feet in thickness. And the hole itself is placed at the  
very



very top of the arch, and approached by a flight of steps, which do not *begin*, till you are got some little way under the arch, and, by means of a rising in the vaulted roof, at the further end, somewhat in the manner as represented in fig. V, the loop-hole is not only placed at the top of the arch, but in reality considerably above the vaulting at the entrance of the arch: so that it most manifestly appears, that whatever weapon, or stone from any cross-bow, or whatever fire-brand, or fire-arrow, was shot in, by the besiegers, it must strike against this rising part of the vaulting, and fall down within the arch, without a possibility of doing any great injury. It could strike no one, except some cross-bow-man, that might chance to be, at that very instant, at the loop-hole, within the castle, going to shoot at the enemy; and even he must place himself very awkwardly to be struck by it: for these loop-holes, though the lowermost in the castle, are yet so high from the ground, that any weapon from without must *ascend* to enter them; and as to any fire-brand, or fire-arrows, shot in, it is plain such must fall down within the stone arch itself, and remain there, and could not enter the rooms of the castle, because even the foot of the steps, down which it might possibly descend, is some distance within the arch.

ANOTHER circumstance also that deserves notice is, that whereas the wall might appear to have been weakened by these arches, yet it may be plainly seen, that the steps do so strengthen it, and that so great a thickness is left, even close round the loop-hole, that there was no danger from that circumstance.

THUS was the lower floor protected; which, both on account of its strength, and darkness, was generally designed merely to hold the stores. And it was, in many castles, vaulted with stone,



as may plainly be seen to have been the case, in Portchester castle, and also in Norwich castle.

THESE lower rooms (for there were two of them) reached from the ground to a little beneath the bottom of the draw-bridge and grand portal, so that their height was at least above fourteen feet.

THE next rooms reached in clear height above twenty feet more, almost to the lower range of loop-holes, which are seen in the view of the north-east front, fig. III; and it is therefore plain, that on this floor, where was the principal entrance, there were no windows or lights whatsoever, not even loop-holes, on the same side with the entrance and the top of the stair-case. And the reason is obvious; for if there had been any, they would have been too much exposed to an enemy, who should have made themselves masters of the steps, or should be making an attack upon the portal.

It is, however, to be observed, that in the vestibule, in the small tower, *on this very floor*, there are large and handsome windows: but the reason for this seems evidently to have been, that this vestibule was considered as a place of very little importance in a close siege, and where none of the garrison would ever *necessarily* be found: for the portcullises (as I before observed) of both portals were worked in or near the room above; and in that room, though it be so much higher, we may observe, there are only loop-holes; the disposition of the loop-holes and windows in this small tower, being in an inverted order, from what they are in the great one.

THESE large and elegant windows, therefore, in the vestibule, added to the stateliness of the entrance, and yet occasioned no sort of danger to the garrison. And perhaps one other *singular* circumstance ought to be mentioned, with regard to them:



with regard to them: that whereas directly under the vestibule was the dungeon for the prisoners; and in the floor of the vestibule was an open space left, like the cavity for a trap-door, at a great height above their heads, for the sake of air; therefore, if weapons shot in at these windows could annoy any persons whatever, it must have been merely the prisoners confined in that wretched den, who alone, by means of this trap, were exposed to that annoyance.

THIS second story (or first floor above the ground), though it had no other large windows than those in the vestibule, had however loop-holes on all the other sides, except the north-east; and they were larger than those on the ground-floor, as they might well be permitted to be, because they were so much higher from the ground. But they were, in other respects, contrived much in the same manner. Only, instead of steps, there was a stone stage, within the arch of the wall (as represented fig. VI.), on which two cross-bow-men might stand.

ON this floor was the guard-chamber. And here the chief part of the garrison had both their residence and their lodging [b].

[b] To us, in this more refined age, it may naturally seem very astonishing, how so great a number of men could find lodging in such a building: but a little anecdote which I will venture to relate, on good authority, of the family of Lord Lovat (who was one of the last Chieftains that preserved the rude manners, and barbarous authority, of the early feudal ages), may perhaps enable us to form some idea of their manner of dwelling. This powerful laird resided in an house which would be esteemed but an indifferent one for a very private, plain country gentleman, in England; as it had, (I think) properly, only four rooms on a floor, and those not large. Here, however, he kept a sort of court, and several public tables; and had a very numerous body of retainers always attending. His own constant residence, and the place where he received company, even at dinner, was in the very room where he lodged; and his lady's sole apartment was her bed-room; and the only provision for the lodging of the servants, and retainers, was a quantity of straw, which they spread, every night, on the floors of the lower rooms, where the whole inferior part of the family, consisting of a very great number of persons, took up their abode.



Within the wall also, at the north corner, is a small room, with a fire place; which seems to have been the station of some officer who commanded the guard. Its situation may be seen at (p) Fig. I.

THE next floor to this, or the third story, contained the rooms of state; and was about thirty-two feet in height; and took in the lowermost range of loop-holes, seen on the north-east side (Fig. III.), as also the magnificent windows that were over them.

AND here, as to the loop-holes, they were contrived just like those last-mentioned; but, in all probability, the arches, through which they were approached, were concealed behind the arras, with which (according to the custom of the times) these rooms were hung.

AND as to the great windows, they were not only placed at such a vast height in the rooms, and so far from the ground, that any weapons shot in must, on that account alone, in all probability, strike against the top of the arches cut in the wall to give light from these windows; but the vaulting of these arches was also purposely placed so low, and so near to the top of the windows, that, large and magnificent as they were, it was nevertheless almost impossible for any weapons shot in to reach the ceilings of the rooms, or (considering the thickness of the walls) even to come into the rooms at all. The outward ornaments of these windows are now almost entirely destroyed; but, from the little that remains, it appears they were constructed much like those at Canterbury castle, which are more perfect: and I have endeavoured to represent somewhat of the ancient form, both of those on the principal floor, and of those in the upper story, in Fig. VII.



In the last place, it deserves notice, that, for the convenience of the garrison, in case of a close siege, and that orders might be speedily communicated to all parts, there was on this floor, within the thickness of the wall, in the space between the loop-holes and the windows, a gallery, as represented by the dotted lines in fig. II; which in different places ascended, and descended, by means of steps; and did not run merely horizontally. From which gallery, and the staircase at (m), there was an easy communication both with the great cavities in the walls at (i and k), where the two portcullises of the two portals were worked; and also with the chamber over the vestibule. And there was, besides, another smaller and narrower gallery, within the thickness of the wall, in the floor above.

As to the uppermost story of all, which was the fourth, the rooms of which were about sixteen feet in height; it being so very high from the ground, there was no need of any precautions for its defence, in the structure of the windows. It had, therefore, very large ones, like the grand apartments; and these were not far from the floor. And the rooms here (as well as the leads of the castle) were made use of occasionally for placing the catapults, balistas, warwolves, and other various instruments of war, to annoy the enemy; and were the places from whence the soldiers most conveniently attacked the besiegers. From these rooms there was also a door, which opened upon the leads of the small tower (as may be seen Fig. III.) on which leads also instruments of war might be placed.

3dly, As to the devices to deceive, and mislead the enemy; there were (I think), in this castle, three at least; and perhaps even some others might be mentioned.

The first, and most remarkable, was a stone-arch, and false portal, upon the staircase, just by the first great gate. Its ap-



pearance may be seen at (q) Fig. III. and it could answer no other end than to deceive and mislead the besiegers, by inducing them to attempt a breach in this place, when once they should be masters of the steps, and of the first gate: for although any one, who looks at the north-east front of this building, would at first sight instantly conclude, that *here* was formerly an ancient entrance, now stopped up; yet, upon measuring carefully, and examining the inside of the castle, it will be found, that this imaginary entrance is directly against the most solid part of the transverse wall; it being not only against the side of the solid north-east wall, which is here twelve feet thick, but moreover against the *end* of the north-west wall, as may be seen in the plan (Fig. I.), where its situation is marked at (N). And it is to be observed, that the little apartment (p) before-mentioned, at this north corner, is above the crown of the arch; and therefore could not diminish the strength of the wall of this false portal.

AND that *deception* alone was the end designed to be answered by the construction of this arch, appears the more probable, because in Dover castle there is not only such a great arch, and false portal, situated in a manner somewhat similar, on the grand staircase; but there is, moreover, another small false portal on the ground, on the south side, which, on examination, is found to be not only against the whole thickness of the wall of that front, but also directly against the end of the strong partition wall in the middle, which separates the rooms of that castle. And something of the same kind may also be observed in the castle at Norwich; where the two great arches, on the ground, on the west side, that have often been supposed ancient entrances; and at least appear weak places; are in reality part of the walls, stronger than any other.

THE



THE next deception was the round tower at the south angle; see (s) fig. i. And here, as well as by the false portal, many late observers of this building have been deceived, just as the besiegers were intended to be. For it has been taken for granted that this was a *weak* part of the building, and that this tower was raised to strengthen it. And it seems indeed, on the outside, as if this round tower itself might, at any time, be more easily battered down than any other part of the castle. But, whoever should attempt to try the experiment, would soon discover the error: for although it has indeed loop-holes, and seems, on the outside, to be a very injudicious structure; yet it is, in reality, almost all a mass of solid stone from top to bottom; and has no cavities whatever, except a few small and exceeding strong arches leading to the loop-holes; and none even of these are upon the ground-floor; for there it is all one entire mass.

AND deceptions of this kind are also to be found in other structures: for in Colchester castle, a great round tower, that projects very awkwardly at one corner, is the very strongest part of the building; the walls of it being no less than between twenty and thirty feet thick.

THE only remaining circumstance of this kind, which I shall take notice of, is the affected appearance of weakness in the small square tower and vestibule: wherein, notwithstanding its large and open windows, and an appearance of flightiness, and want of solidity in the walls, it may be observed, that its foundations were enormously thick and massy, and its whole structure exceeding strong. And it may plainly be seen, that whatever weapons the enemy should endeavour to throw, either into the vestibule, or against any other part of this tower, they would employ their assaults in vain.

AND on this occasion it ought to be remarked, that although we find in several different castles such an uniformity of *design* in.



in these kind of deceptions, yet they were devised, and carried into execution, in different castles, in a very different manner; so that it was by no means easy for the besiegers, from their knowledge of any one castle, to be aware what the deceptions exactly were, or in what parts they were situated, in any other. Neither could they by any means venture to judge every appearance of this sort, at first sight, to be merely a deception; because, in almost all old castles, there actually were, somewhere or other, old arches filled up, and other weak places. And if even skilful engineers could not form a certain judgement as to these kind of appearances in the walls; much less could the rude undisciplined militia of those times; who were generally hastily assembled, out of distant counties, by the great lords, and hurried away to the attack of some fortrefs.

A cautious regard to the concealment of these deceptions, was probably one of the principal causes that so much care was used in old time, to prevent strangers from entering into these castles, and surveying them; and the continuance of that idea is perhaps the reason, why the Turks, even to this day, have so much jealousy in that respect; for it is well known, that although they were the first inventors of cannon, they are the last improvers of fortification.

As to the variety in the execution of the several contrivances for deception; we may observe, that even in the few castles which I shall produce as instances of a similarity of design, there was yet much difference. For in Rochester, the false portal is in the most conspicuous part of the principal stair-case, and looks like a grand entrance: at Dover, it is in a more concealed part of the stair-case, and looks only like an old private doorway stopped up; and the other false portal at Dover is on the ground, quite on the opposite side of the castle from the entrance, and seems like a small old fally-port: at Norwich, the

arches



arches look more like weak parts of the wall, than like portals or door-ways: and, at Guilford, the deception has the appearance of having been the old square entrance of some vault, or subterraneous Sally-port. And again, at Rochester, the round tower looks merely like a defective piece of new work; but at Colchester, like a large spacious room, imprudently built, for state, and ornament.

4thly, WITH regard to the methods devised for the safety of the stores; and for the security of the prisoners, in such a manner as to need no considerable guard; it may be sufficient, as to the former, to observe, that the lower apartments, so well protected from fire, and from any breaches, were destined to this use: and as to the latter, that there was a dreadful dungeon for their reception, of a very singular structure. It was directly under the little square tower just mentioned; and was enclosed by four walls of enormous thickness; as may be judged from the smallness of the room in proportion to the size and dimensions of the tower; which also shews the real strength of that building, notwithstanding its external appearance of weakness. It was so deep, that even from the ground-floor of the great tower it was descended by a steep flight of steps, cut through a part of the wall, that is here twelve feet in thickness: and these were so narrow, that only one man could descend at once; and so steep, that it was impossible for any one to stand firmly on them, in such a manner as to make any very considerable efforts to force open the door. There were no windows whatever to this dungeon; and the only means of conveying air into it, was by a square cavity, like that for a trap-door, placed in the floor of the vestibule, at a great height above the heads of the prisoners; the situation of which may be seen at (r) fig. i.; this trap was large enough to let down a man, and it is probable therefore that the prisoners themselves were sometimes put in this way; and that their provisions also were here let down to them.

THIS:



THE dungeon is arched with stone, and there is moreover a strong stone floor over it. And, as the large windows of the vestibule might let in rain, there is, in this floor, a curious stone gutter cut, to let off the water; having the floor made sloping towards it; which seems to have been a very necessary precaution; as the wet, if it once got into the dungeon, could hardly ever evaporate.

5thly, THE next contrivance worthy our attention, is the means devised for the easy conveyance of the great engines of war into the several apartments, and up to the top of the castle: and this also is very curious, and excellently well designed.

ANY one who has at all considered the plan of this castle, and the structure and situation of the stair-cases, will easily perceive, that if the stores were to be conveyed up and down those winding narrow ascents, it would create much confusion; not to mention, that it would be impossible to convey through such passages the large beams of which the catapults and balistas [c], and many other instruments of war, are known

[c] That catapults, and balistas, and such kind of warlike engines, which had several different names, were in use in the time of our first Norman kings, both in England and abroad, appears from a variety of passages in history; a few of which I shall cite: Lord Lyttelton, in his Life of Henry the Second (vol. iii. p. 466), says, "*Saladin assaulted Ascalon, on the side of the Continent, with thirteen catapults, the great artillery of those times, which threw heavy stones against the walls;*" and this was about the year 1187, above an hundred years after the building of Rochester castle. Camden informs us, "That the strength of the machines used for throwing stones was incredibly great; and that with those called *mangonels* they used to throw *mill-stones*." He adds, "That, when king John besieged Bedford castle, there were on the east side one petrary and two mangonels daily applying against the tower; and on the west, two mangonels battering the old tower; as also upon the south; and another upon the north part, which beat two breaches in the walls." When Kenilworth castle was besieged by Henry III. the garrison had engines which cast stones of an extraordinary bigness. And bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden, says, "That near the castle they still find balls of stone sixteen inches in diameter, supposed to have been thrown in slings, in the time of the Barons wars." Holinshed (p. 839), tells us, "That Edward I. at the siege of Strively [Stirling] Castle,



known to have been composed. To obviate this inconvenience therefore, there were three square wells, made in the walls of the castle, at (s, t, u,) *Fig. I.* so as not to interfere with the galleries; and these wells opened at the bottom, on the ground-floor, into arches so high, as to allow of the turning of large beams of timber into them: and in their ascent, they had also other *flues* (if I may be allowed the expression) branching off, as in *Fig. VIII.* to the galleries on the two upper floors: but none to the first floor, on which the grand entrance was, as it is manifest they would *there* be needless. And we may easily perceive, that it was more convenient to have them take their rise from the ground floor, rather than from the first floor; both because it saved the trouble of conveying the stores up the grand stair-case, and also occasioned less confusion in those apartments, which would of course be most crowded with soldiers.

“Castle, caused certain engines of wood to be raised up against the castle, which  
“shot off stones of two or three hundred weight.”

These kind of engines, however, though continued in use so long as till the introduction of cannon; were of a very early invention, and were even used very frequently by the Romans. And what the effect of them was, we may conceive from two very remarkable accounts given of them, by Josephus and Tacitus. Josephus, in his account of the siege of Jerusalem, says, “That those engines that threw stones were  
“larger than the rest; and that by means of these the Romans not only repelled the  
“excursions of the Jews, but drove away those that were upon the walls; and the  
“stones that were cast were of the weight of a talent (that is, above an hundred  
“weight), and were carried two furlongs and further.” (See Jewish war, b. v. c.: vi.) And Tacitus, in describing a battle fought near Cremona, between the army of Vitellius and the army of Vespasian, under Antonius Primus, says,  
“The soldiers of Vitellius planted their missive engines on the ridge of the Post-  
“humian Way, that thence, with more room, and over clear fields, they might  
“discharge their deadly contents; and one of amazing bulk, of the sort called  
“balista, belonging to the fifteenth legion, overthrew the enemies ranks, by pour-  
“ing upon them great massy stones.” (Tacitus, l. iii.)



SOME persons, on an hasty view, have conceived these wells to have been formed for the purpose only of drying the walls; but it is impossible (both from their size and situation), to suppose that to have been their use and design; because they not only have their outlets *within* the castle, rather than on the *outside* of it; but those outlets are moreover merely into *close* galleries, where there could be very little evaporation. And besides this, their vast size, exact position, and curious contrivance; shew they were designed for a far more important purpose.

6thly, THE means devised for giving a quick alarm was also a most extraordinary invention, and executed in a most exquisite manner. There was formed and cut, within the thickness of the wall, a small flue, not more than eight or ten inches square, which went down from the top of the castle into the several apartments, and even round those apartments; and was carried (for reasons which I am not able to explain so fully as I could wish) even through the places where the ends of the beams and rafters of the floors were inserted, and through the ends of the beams themselves. This fact may appear a little doubtful and extraordinary; but will be found, on careful examination, to be unquestionable; for in one place you may even see completely through a part of this flue, and where it passed through the ends of the beams.

AND here I cannot but observe, that this circumstance is a strong proof, that these cavities could not possibly, any more than those last mentioned, be mere spiracles for drying the walls: for, although such might have been formed in the *thickness* of the walls, and opening outwards; yet it would be very absurd to suppose the architects would be at the trouble of perforating *all* the beams for such a purpose: and it would be equally absurd to suppose, that such spiracles should be made altogether  
near



near to the inward surface of the walls, rather than in the midst of the substance of them; and opening to the inside of the castle, where they would occasion insufferable damps, rather than to the outside, where they would better have served for the purpose of drying the work. Their use, therefore, seems plainly to have been such as I have pointed out. And, before I quit the consideration of these flues, it well deserves notice, that there are also two other small square cavities, or perforations, by the side of one of the arches of communication on the ground-floor; which latter cavities pass through the whole thickness of the partition wall, and are commonly supposed to have been devised merely for the easy conveyance of intelligence from one room to the other; when the doors between were shut: but, as this was too trifling a consideration, I am rather apt to suspect they were the very outlets at the bottom, from the flues I have just mentioned. I will not, however, dare to assert this positively, because it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the fact, on account of the great thickness of the wall, and the small dimensions of these perforations, which prevents our seeing whether the flue actually does communicate with them within the substance of the wall or no. Indeed, considering the great thickness of all the walls, and the manner in which the flue was every where concealed, it was a matter of difficulty to trace it at all in so many parts as it is traced; and we cannot be surprized that such a sort of device has passed unnoticed in so many other castles. Enough, however, remains visible *here*, to convince any person. And the man who now shews the castle, has traced the flue often, both by sight, and by throwing in small pebbles. The two square cavities I have just mentioned, as on the ground-floor, are represented at (x), fig. IX.



7thly, For supplying the garrison with water, in case of a close siege, there was a most admirable contrivance of a well, of excellent workmanship, within the very middle of the partition wall. It was also made to go up through the whole wall, from the bottom of the tower, to the very leads of the castle; and on every floor were small arches in the wall, forming a communication between the pipe of the well and the several apartments, as are shewn in fig. IX. where the situation of the pipe may be seen, in the middle of the wall, reaching from (a) to (b), and from whence it appears that a pulley being placed at the top of the castle, water was most easily drawn up to every apartment; and to the very leads. This well had moreover, from the surface of the round, down to the water, little square cavities cut in the sides of the pipe, at proper distances, forming a kind of steps (like those described to be in the well of the Great Pyramid in Egypt); so that any person, by placing his hands and feet in them, might very easily descend to the bottom to cleanse it. The whole deserves to be viewed with great attention, on account of the beauty and compactness of the stone-work and masonry.

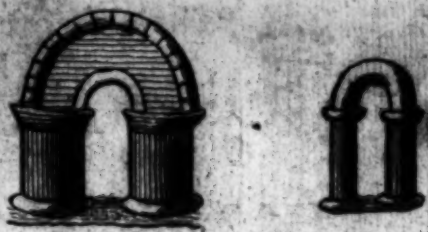
8thly, THE methods of conveying away the smoak, and all manner of filth, from the several apartments, ought not to pass utterly unnoticed.

THE chimneys were placed in the rooms as at (y) and (z), fig. I. and II. and the fire-places, or hearths, were under semi-circular arches, richly ornamented with fret-work, and in form resembling fig. X. But instead of such chimneys as are now used, there was a sort of conical cavity (as in fig. XI.), reaching to an aperture on the side of the castle, exactly like a loop-hole; and placed uniformly with the other loop-holes, so as not to be distinguished from them in the outward appearance of the building.

THE outlets to the sinks, and other conveyances of filth, were nearly in the same manner; only reversed and going downwards;



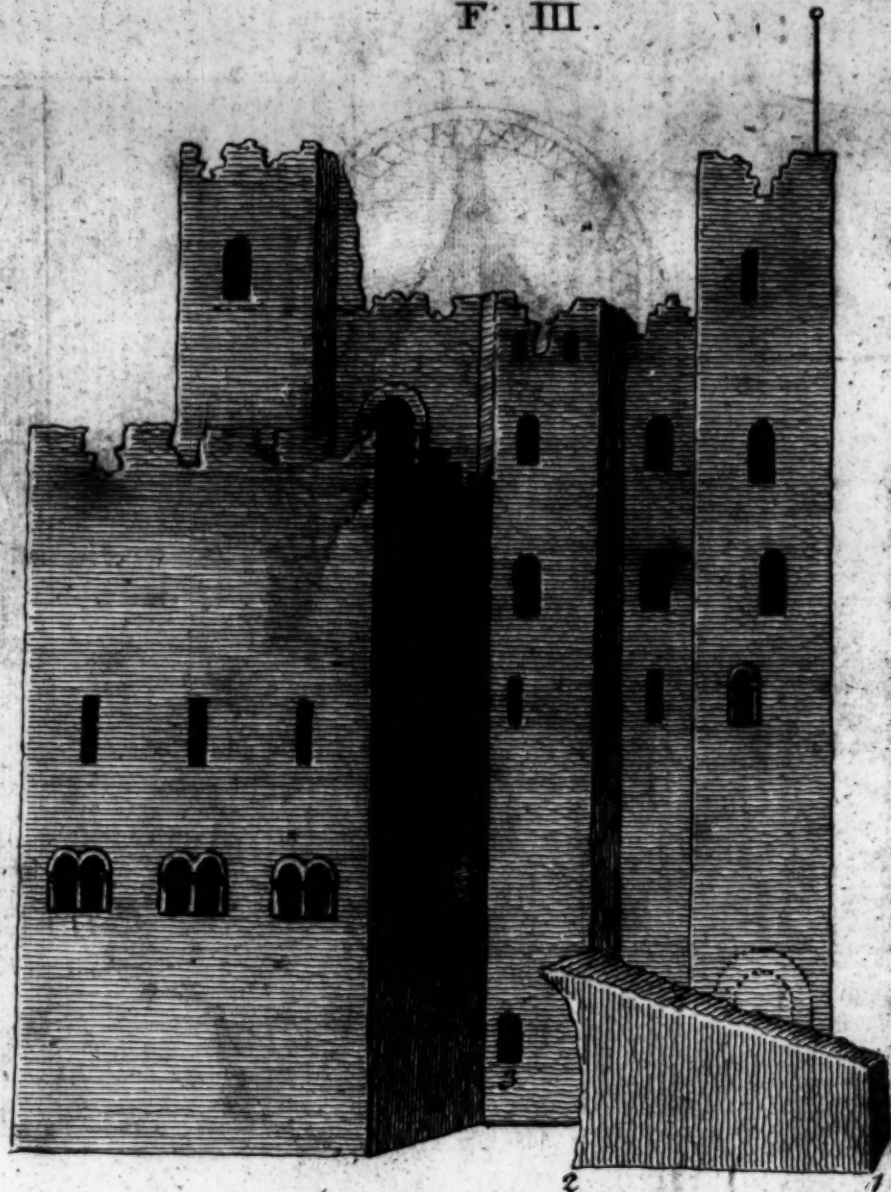
F. VII.



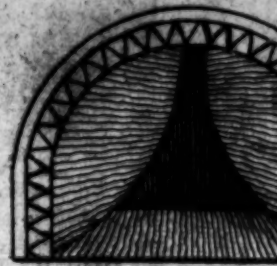
F. VIII.



F. III.



F. X.



F. XI.

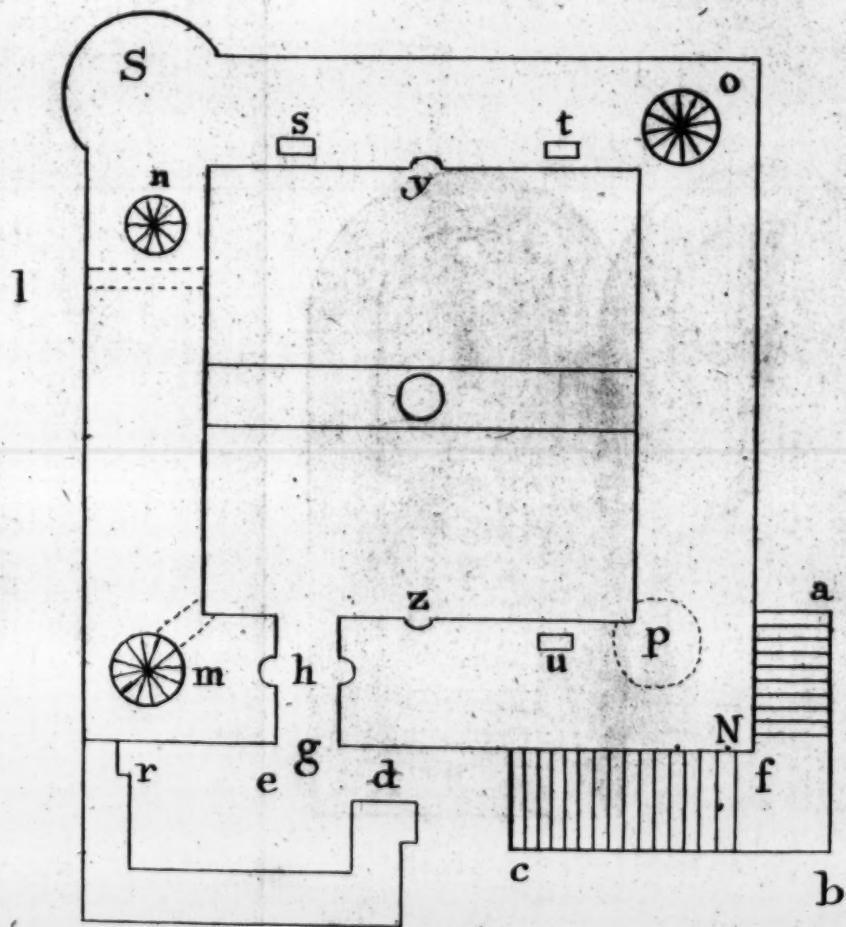
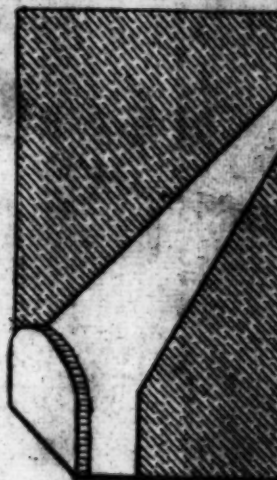
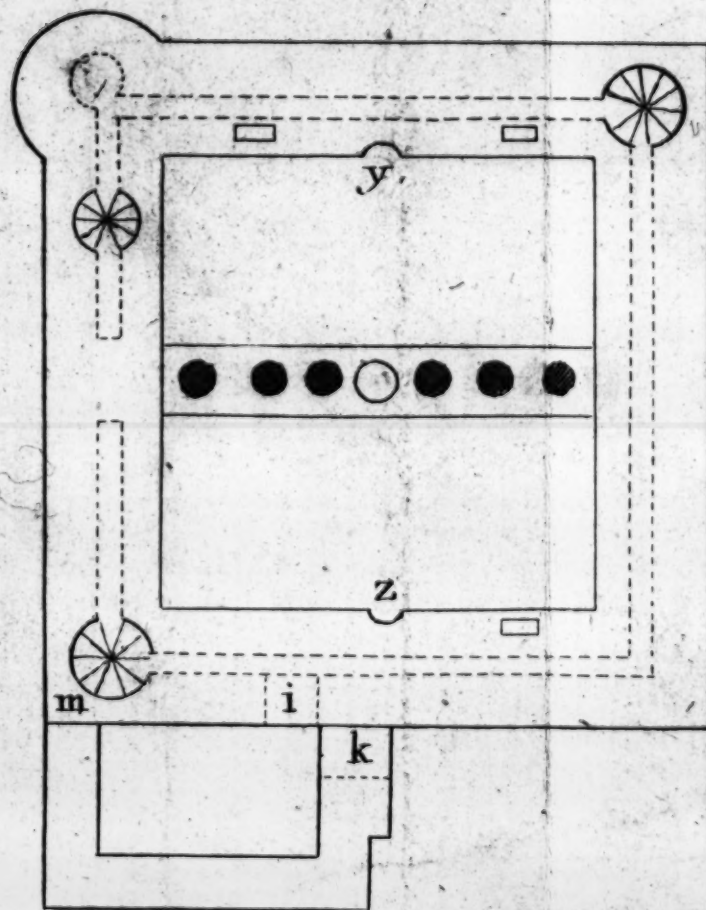


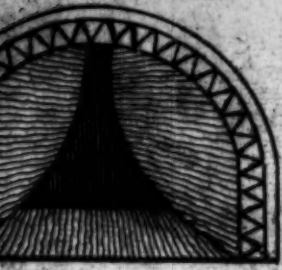
Fig. I.



F. II.

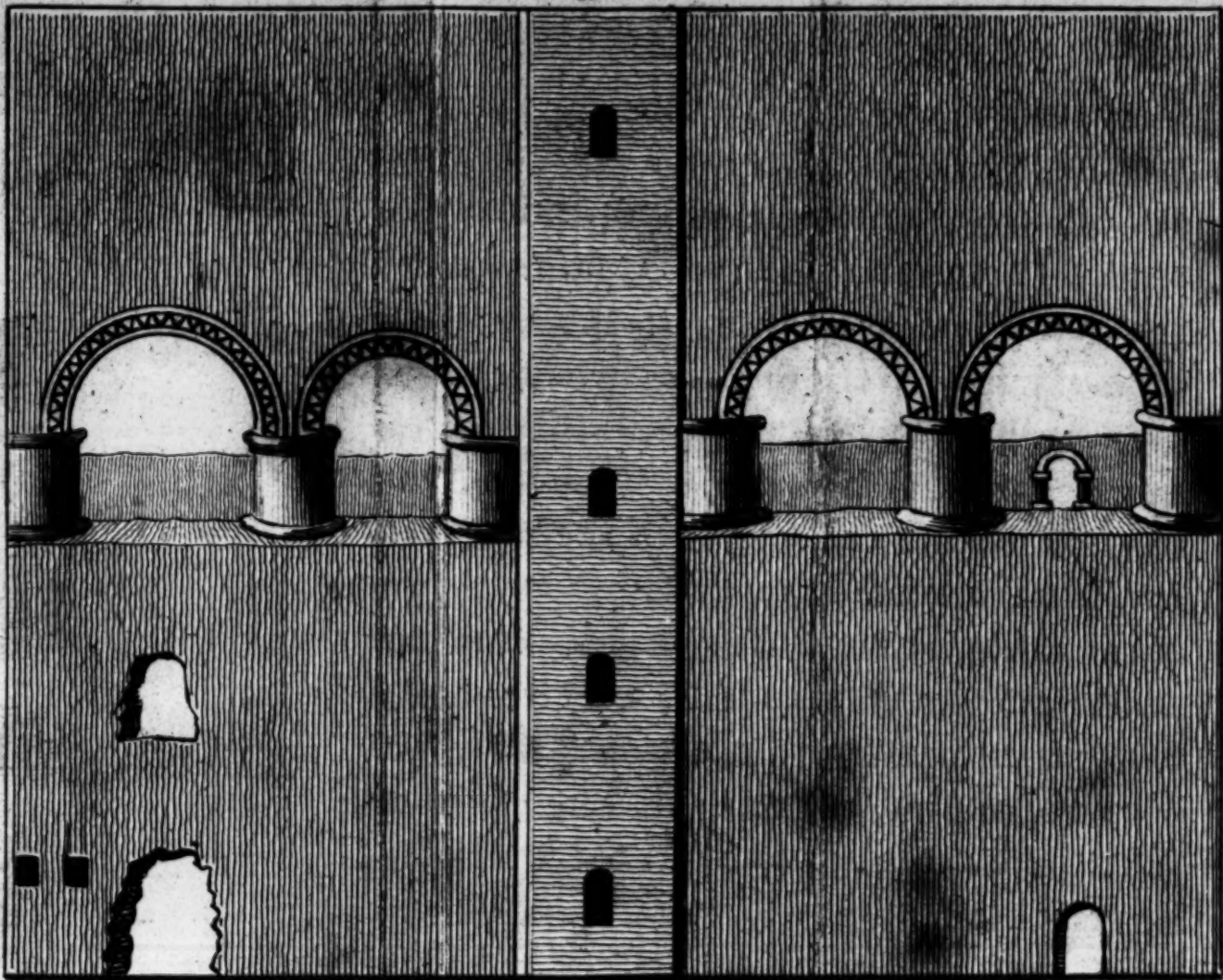


F. X.



F. IX.

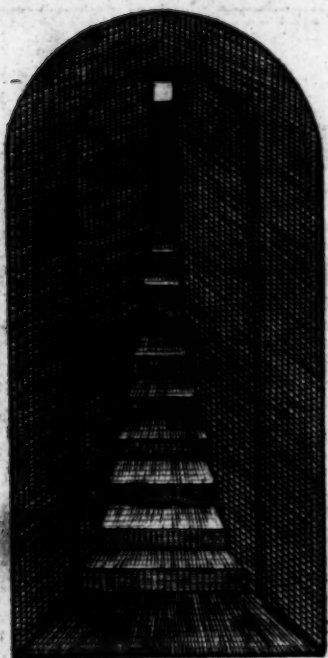
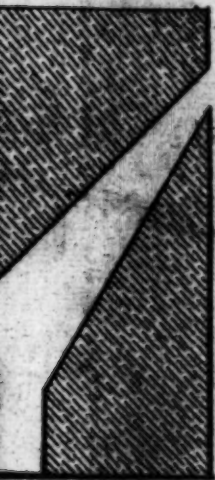
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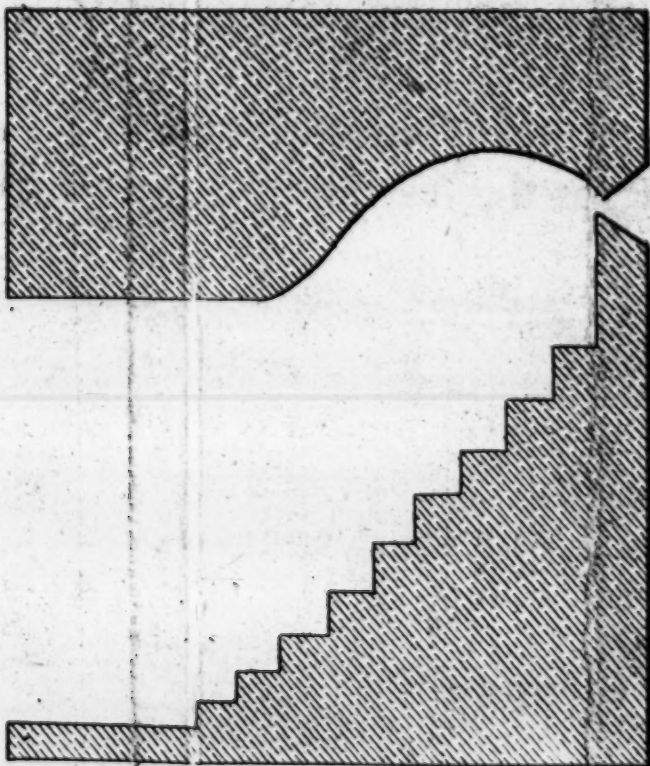
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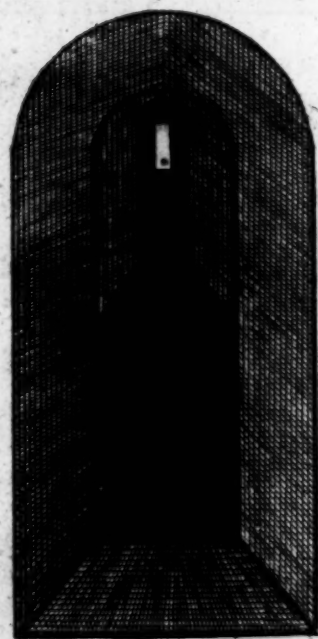
F. XI.



F. IV.

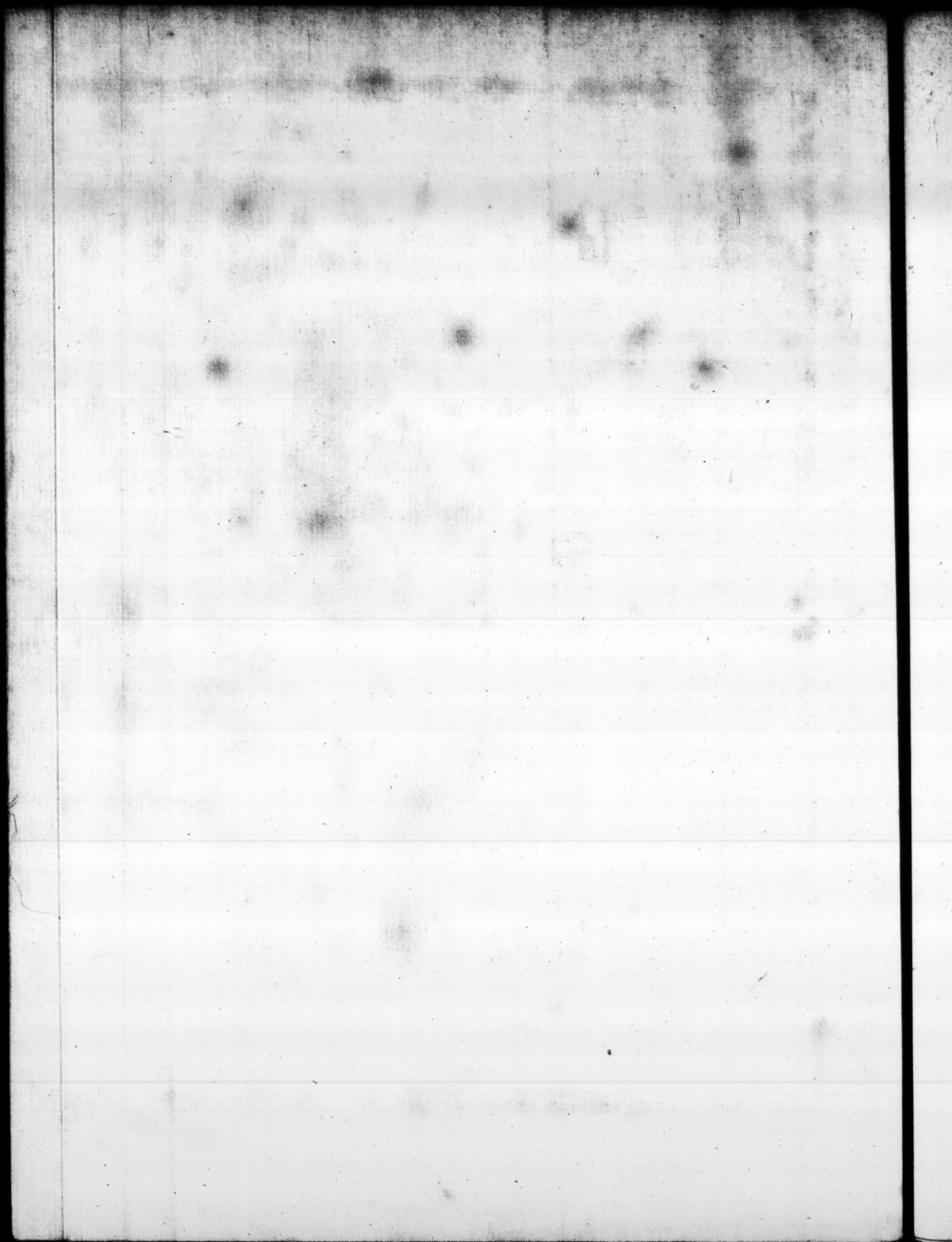


F. V.



F. VI.







wards; and sloping *sideways* to the corresponding loop, instead of descending perpendicularly; that they might not give admission to any weapons. Which method was uniformly observed in most castles.

9thly, THE provision made for maintaining the state and dignity of the Commandant, or lord of the castle, deserves our attention. It has been already remarked, how superb the grand entrance was; and the apartments for residence were no less so. There were evidently three. Two great rooms each about 50 feet long, by above 20 wide, and 32 feet high; and one smaller chamber at the top of the little tower. The two great chambers, to render them more light and airy, were separated (not by a solid wall, as the apartments on the other floors were) but by great arches, of a most admirable proportion and workmanship, and highly finished: and these arches were left open at top, but had a partition-wall, running all along under them, of a sufficient height for the arras, with which most undoubtedly these rooms were hung.

THE door by which the communication was made between these chambers is of curious workmanship. Its situation in the partition wall, as well as that of the great arches, may be seen fig. IX. and by comparing its dimensions with those of the arches, their greatness may be conceived: a circumstance that will also still more plainly appear, if we consider that the arras, which covered the low walls under them, would nevertheless be of height sufficient, if continued round the rooms, to conceal on the other sides the passages through which the loop-holes on this floor were approached.

HAVING given this particular account of Rochester castle, from which the general plan and design of these kind of buildings may be understood; I shall beg leave now to illustrate briefly what has been said, by referring to some few others.

AND



AND the first I shall mention is Canterbury castle. With regard to which I must observe, that whoever looks at that ancient structure attentively, will almost instantly perceive, that the present entrances have been *forced*, and could never have been there originally; and that there was indeed once a grand entrance, similar to that at Rochester; the whole of the fortification being in a certain degree in the same style. All which I shall endeavour to shew, by giving a short and general description of the present state of the whole building\*.

THIS castle is 88 feet in length, and 80 in breadth. The two fronts which are of greatest extent have each four buttresses; whereas the others have only three: and the walls are, in general, about 11 feet thick. But as this tower is so much larger than that at Rochester, there are two partition-walls instead of one; and in these are, in like manner as at Rochester, the remains of arches of communication.

THE situation of the walls may be seen in the plan, fig. XII, pl. XXIII.; where moreover are marked the places of two circular stair-cases in the corners, at (a) and (b).

At (c) also is a well, just like that at Rochester, within the substance of the wall, and descending from the very top of the castle; and in the pipe of this well, as it passes down by the several apartments, are open arches, for the convenience of drawing water on every floor.

THERE is also in this castle, as in the former, a gallery in the wall; of which a part is laid open and visible to the eye, at (b d); but the stair-cases are so much ruined, that one cannot ascend here to examine every thing with the same accuracy as at Rochester. Nor can one precisely determine whether there were more than two stair-cases: though I suspect, from the appearance of the walls, that there were; and that only one went down to the ground-floor.

\* There is a more exact description of this castle in the sequel to these observations.



IN all other respects, the mode of fortification seems to have been precisely the same: for there were only loop-holes, and not one window under any of the arches in the walls on the first floor; and only a very few loop-holes on the ground-floor. And the state apartments may clearly be seen to have been in the third story; where alone are found large and magnificent windows, as at Rochester. Whilst in the upper apartments, next the leads, are other smaller windows. But there are no windows lower than the grand apartments.

THE present entrances, on the south side, are represented fig. XIII. and are most evidently modern breaches, made through the places where probably were two arches in the wall, leading to small loop-holes, constructed like fig. IV. and indeed the present modern entrances to most of the old castles that I have seen have most manifestly been obtained merely in that manner.

BUT on the east side, fig. XIV. there appears, at a considerable height, a large old arch, like a door-way, or portal, now bricked up: and this, on examination, will be found to have been most unquestionably the original grand entrance; for under it is a very considerable projection of solid stone-work, at (e), which seems to have been the foundation of some stair-case, or strong adjoining building: and there are also, on the wall of the castle, marks of the upper part of the stairs descending from this portal; but these must carefully be distinguished from those left by the gabel ends of some houses, that were built against this side of the castle some years ago, and are now pulled down.

THESE marks, however, of the remains of steps ascending to this portal, are by no means the only indications of its having been the original entrance; for the whole plan and formation of the structure within proves it. At the back of the arch thus  
bricked



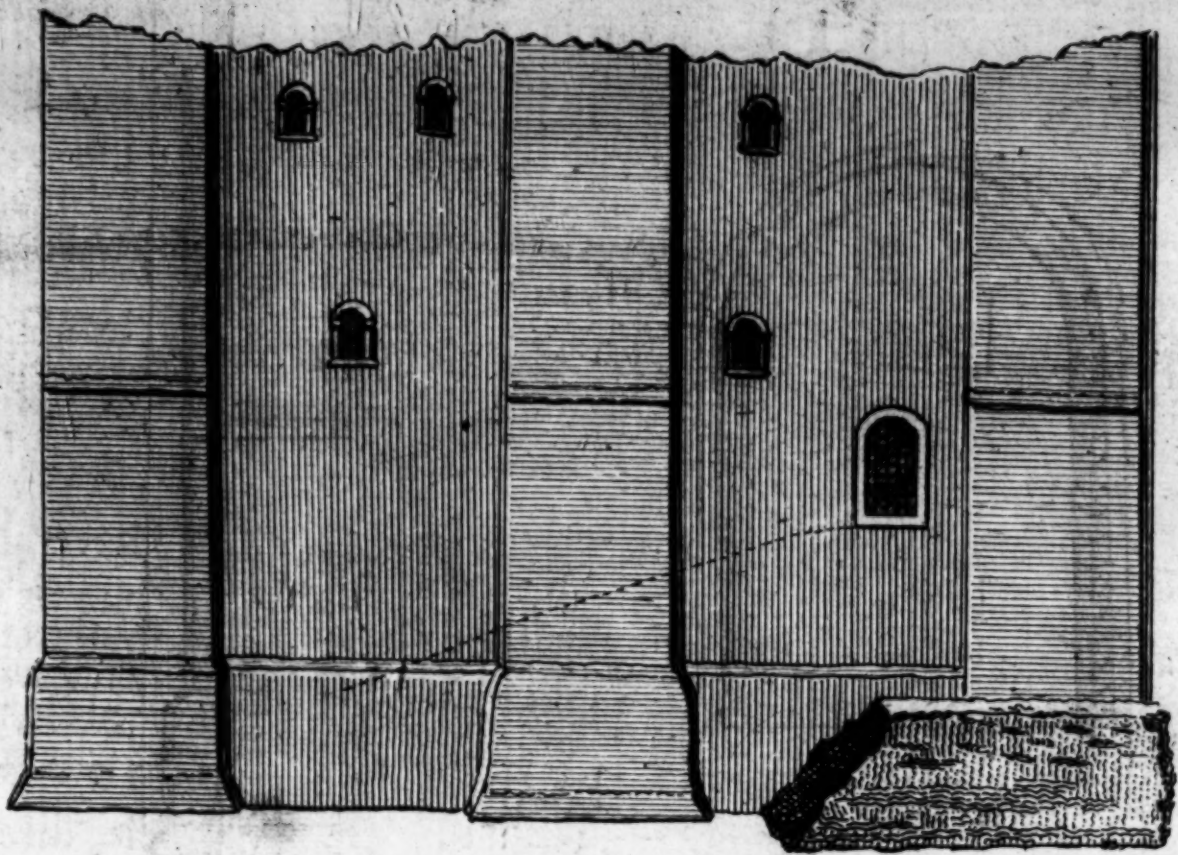
bricked up, is a very large arched door-way of stone, within the castle, of very curious workmanship; whose form may be seen rudely sketched fig. XV.: and directly under it, is a steep stair-case leading down to a dungeon; the situation of which kind of prisons appears usually to have been under the entrances of most castles; and was so at Dover particularly, as well as at Rochester, and in this castle. And both these circumstances are farther proofs that this was the great portal.

THE inhabitants of Canterbury, indeed, have an idea that this arch was broken through for the use of one of the houses, which I have mentioned as having been formerly built against this side of the castle; but the largeness of the arch, the regular stone-work round it, the symmetry with which it is finished, and the rich stone-arched door-way within the castle, directly against this arch, shew their mistake in this matter. And that it was, in reality, much more ancient than those houses, may also be concluded, from the very circumstance of its being bricked up so carefully: for, although it seems highly probable, for many reasons, that it might be so stopped up at the time when the houses were built; yet it is in the highest degree improbable, that they should have taken the trouble of doing so, when the houses were pulled down, and when so many other cavities and breaches in the castle were left open, without any such care being taken.

I MUST therefore conclude, that *here*, and here only, was the original entrance; approached by means of a flight of steps, and a draw-bridge, as at Rochester: and that the fragment of the foundations of those steps, and of the outward entrance, now remaining at the corner, was found too strong to be destroyed, when the adjoining houses were built.

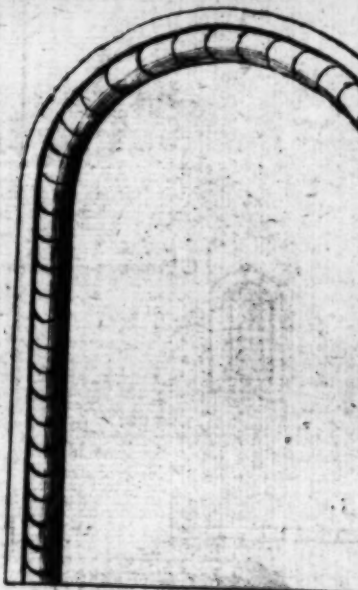
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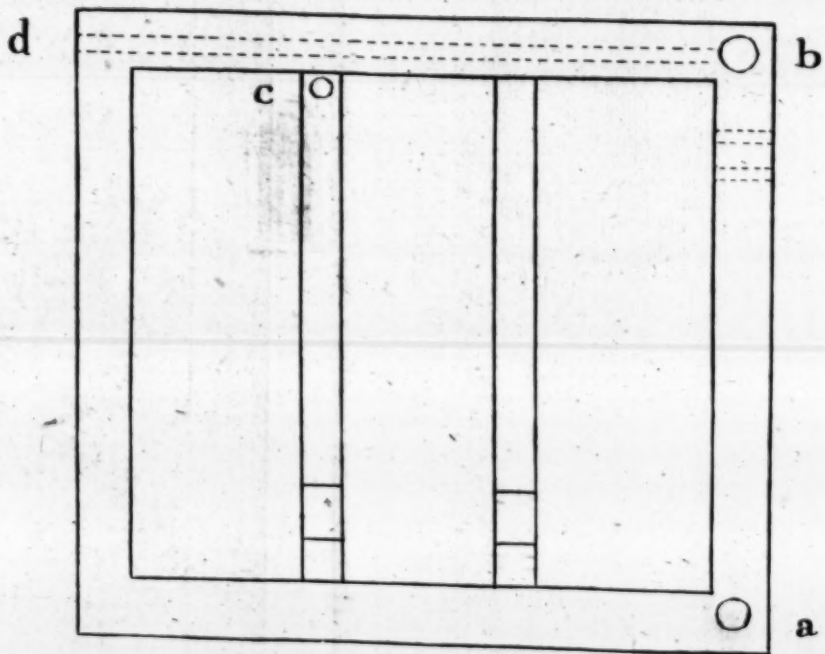


F. XIV.

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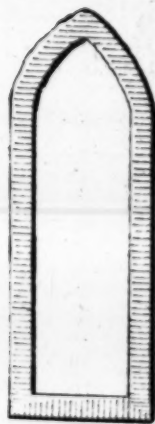
F. XV.



F. XII.

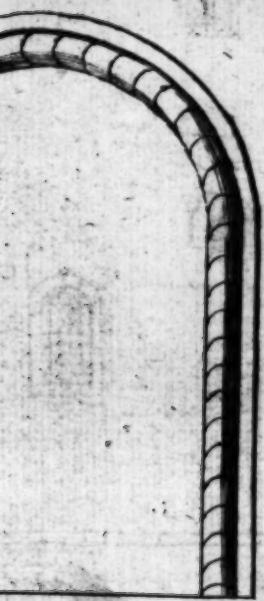


F. XXIII

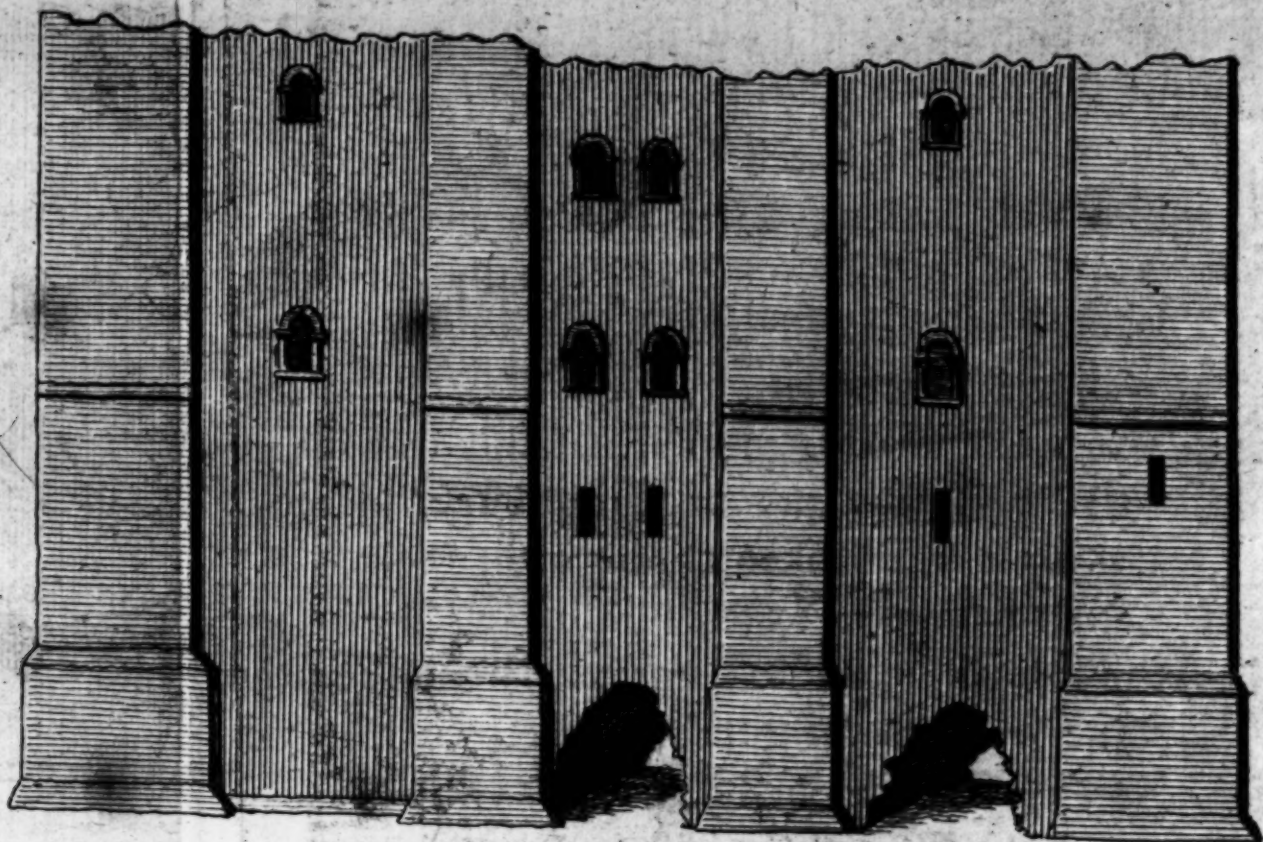


F. XXIV.

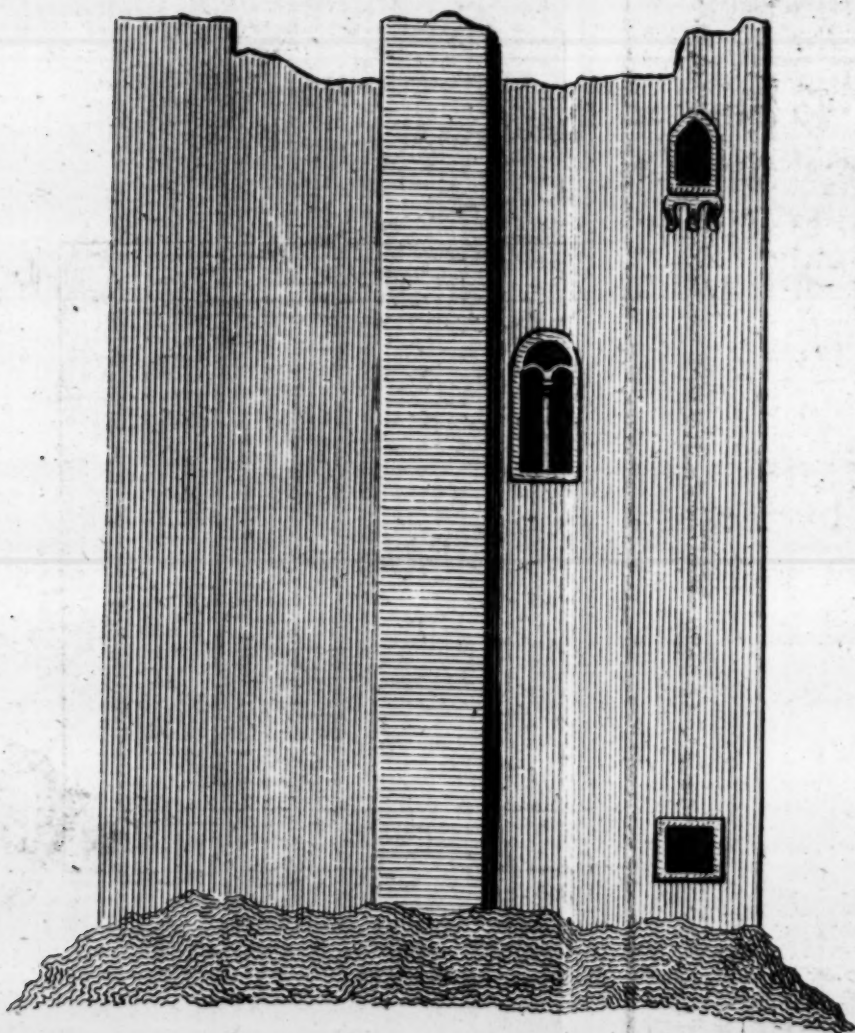




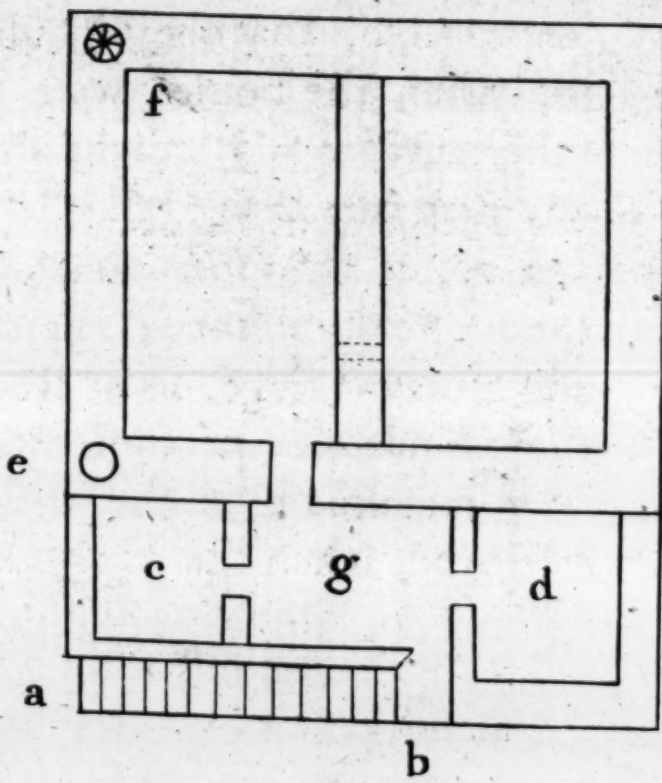
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F. XIII.

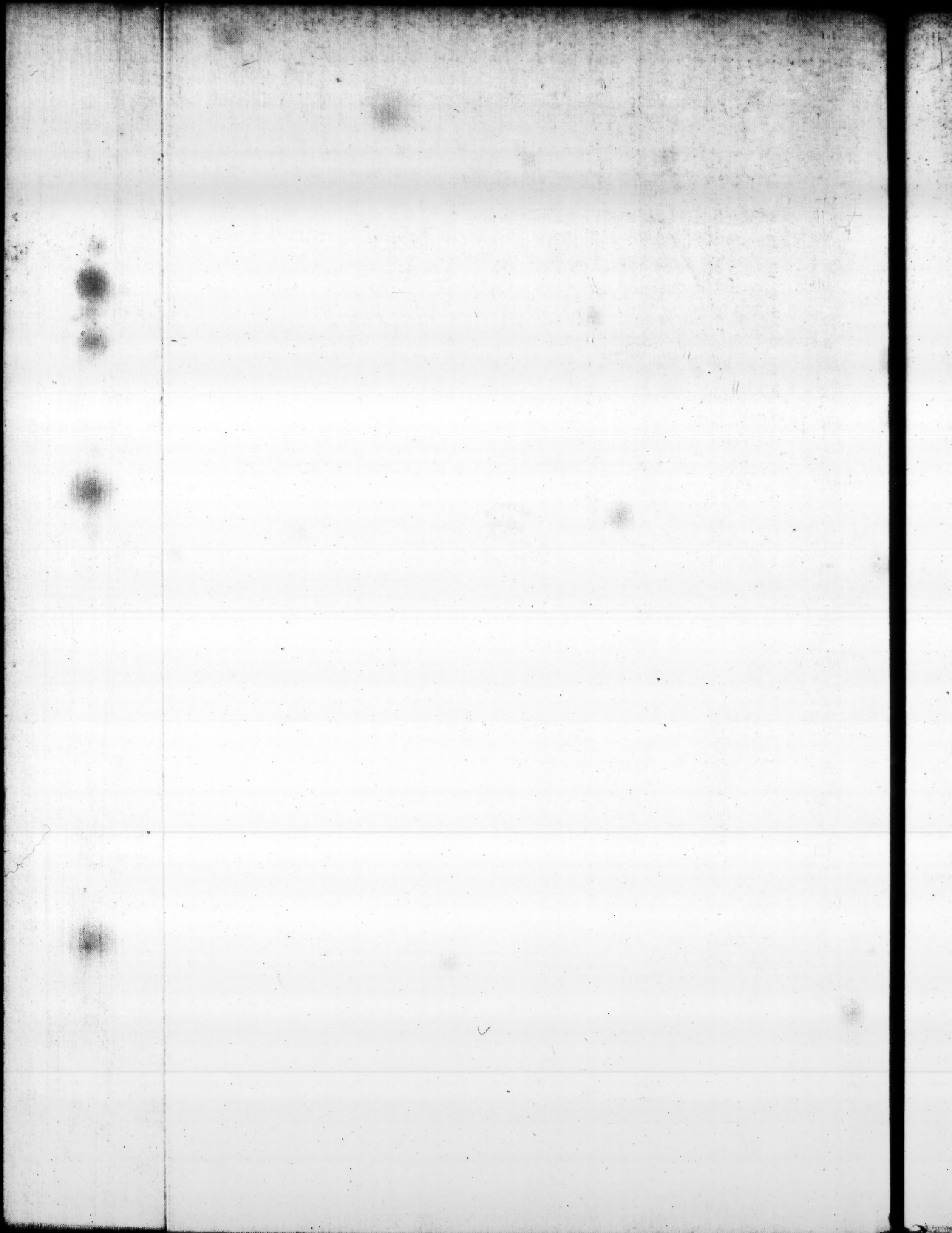


F. XXV.



F. XXI.







AND as we find in Canterbury castle this resemblance of the general plan and design of these kind of buildings, which I have endeavoured to trace out; so does it still more evidently appear in Dover castle; the plan of which is represented fig. XVI. pl. XXIV. for here we find much the same disposition of apartments; the same precautions; the same mode of entrance; and likewise galleries in the wall; as at Rochester; only the situation of the famous well is here different, it not being built within the wall\*.

BUT the circumstance that demands most attention in this castle, is the remains of the grand entrance. The present entrance

\* There is, however, an old tradition of there having been formerly another well within the Keep itself. Such an one is mentioned in some old accounts of the castle, referred to by Mr. Grose. And Mr. Gostling still more fully clears up this matter; informing us (p. 18.) that this well was walled up many years ago to prevent accidents, it being in a dark corner. Indeed hardly any of these remarkable Keeps, or Towers, were without them. It appears from the notes collected in Mr. Grose's curious work (to which we are indebted for the preservation of many valuable records, as well as for rescuing so many remains of antient buildings, now falling to decay, from utter oblivion), that there were such kind of wells in many castles. There was a fine one in Colchester castle, even within the memory of persons now living; which has been utterly destroyed, and of which, at present, not the least traces are left. And there was also, as tradition says, a well three hundred feet deep, in the Keep of Carisbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight, of which no appearance whatever now remains. In like manner we are told there was a well in the Keep of the castle at Winchester, though both it, and the castle itself, are now destroyed; and mention is made of this well in Holinshed. There was also, according to the account given in King's Vale Royal of Cheshire, a well of a most prodigious depth in the chief tower of Beeston castle. And (as Mr. Grose informs us), in December 1770, in sinking the floor of the cellar, in Bamborough castle, in Northumberland (which was built very much upon the same plan with Dover castle, and about the same time), a curious draw-well was accidentally found, the depth of which was 145 feet, all cut through the solid rock, which had long been forgotten, and remained concealed in one of the apartments. In the old tower also at Newcastle, which was built in the time of William the Conqueror, is a well of very considerable depth, and of very curious contrivance.



is indeed at (b), fig. XVI. and at (o), fig. XVII. but, besides this, there is a most noble flight of steps round two sides of the castle, from (a) to (h); leading through one vestibule at (c) to another at (g); and to a very magnificent portal at (i), which is as high as the third story, where the grand apartments themselves were. This portal, however, being now bricked up, the stair-case seems quite useless, and unaccountable: but that it was really the ancient entrance, appears both from its grandeur, and from its being defended, most evidently, by several great gates, at different heights; for there appear to have been gates near (d), and others at (c), in the first vestibule; and others again about midway from thence to the top, at (f), where there is a great solid buttress, to strengthen that part.

It deserves also to be remarked, that on the side of the stair-case, at (m), is a *false* portal, as at Rochester; which, when examined, is found to be, in reality, directly against the end of the front wall, where it is impossible there should ever have been any entrance, or that any breach should be made. I mentioned before, that there is also another *false* portal, on the ground, directly against the end of the great partition wall in the middle; and its situation may be seen in the plan at (l). The noble ascent just described is built within an adjoining tower, that goes partly round two sides of the castle: and at the corner, where it turns, there is not only a most beautiful vestibule, adorned with very fine Saxon arches, but also an adjoining room at (e), which seems to have been designed for a chapel, and has its door-case richly ornamented. And at (d) is another room; probably designed for those who kept castle-guard at the gate; or for wardours. And under these rooms and the steps is the dungeon, as at Rochester: only it consists  
of



of two vaults, and is larger. And at the top of the stair-case, is another room at (h), which probably was a bed-chamber.

THE door-case of the chapel is represented Fig. XVIII. and the arched windows of the vestibule are rudely sketched, Fig. XIX.

STRONG, however, and magnificent as this ascent appears; yet even this was manifestly not the original one\*: for whoever surveys the south front accurately, and the wall on the side of the stair-case, the whole way up, will perceive the marks of a much more antient flight of steps, devised with still greater precautions. The traces of these may still be distinguished, and instead of going up to the door, where the present common entrance is, they seem to have begun about (k), and to have gone over the top of that door: as may be seen by the dotted lines, Fig. XVII. Inasmuch, that this door-way was most probably under a draw-bridge originally; and (like that at Rochester) a mere sally-port, at some considerable height from the ground, and without any *fixed* steps leading to it. In which case, there was manifestly here, at Dover, almost precisely the same mode of entrance, and the same mode of defending it, as I have before described: the only difference being such, as rendered this the stronger of the two; in consequence of the grand portal being placed so much higher up, on the third and principal floor itself, rather than on the floor beneath it.

ON this account, also, there seems to have been another singularity in this building; which is, that there appears only one small stone stair-case, within the castle, going from the ground-floor to the grand apartments: the reason whereof is

\* This tower was built about the time of Henry II. as appears from some passages in Dugdale's Monasticon.



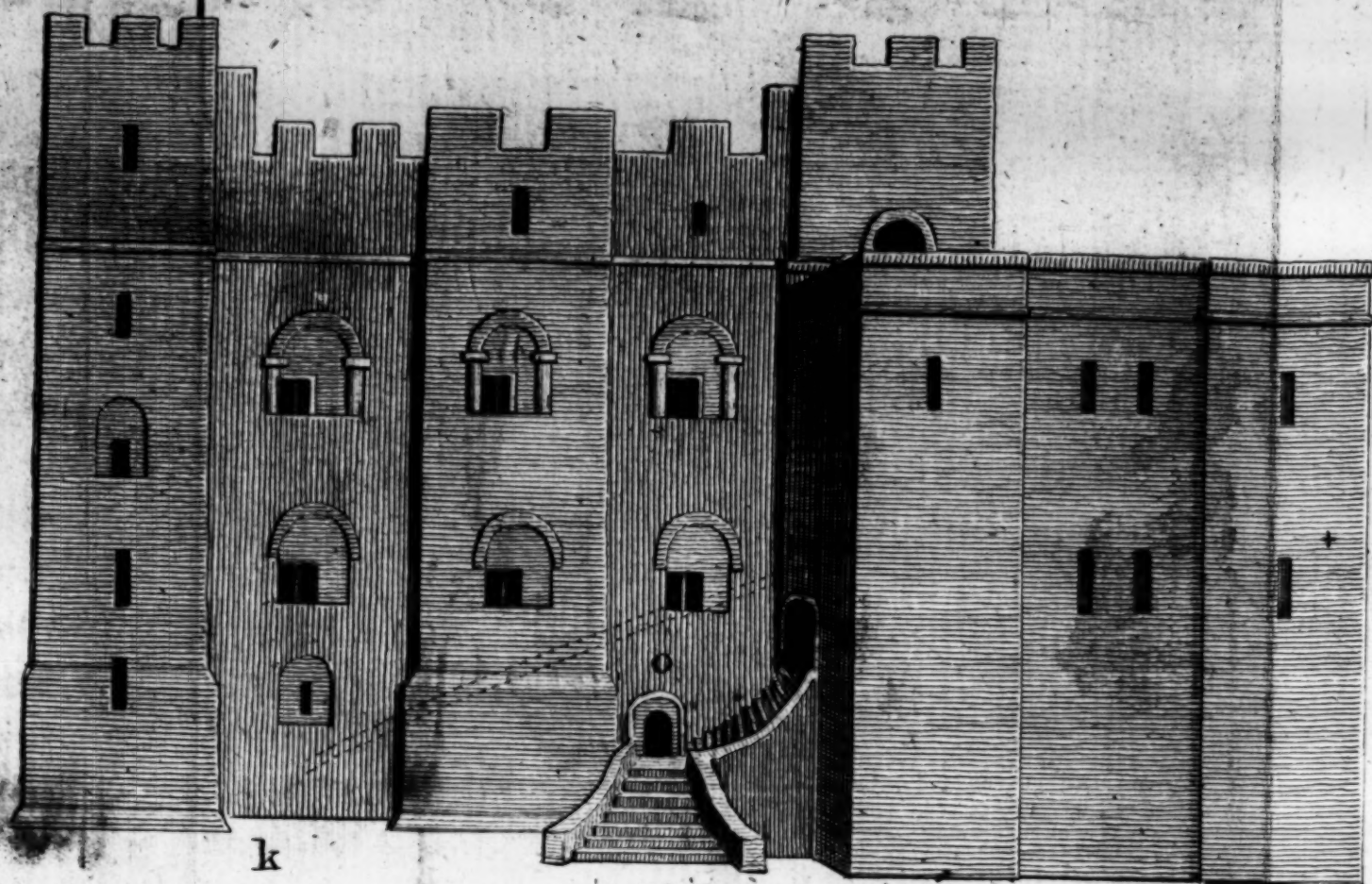
obvious; for hereby the approach to those apartments, in case of a close siege, and of a breach made below, or at the sally-port, was more difficult. And as the grand flight of steps without led quite up to those very apartments, any more stair-cases would, on all other occasions, have been useless.

I SHALL only add, that the walls of this castle are in some places near twenty feet thick; and that, though the windows have been much modernized (some being filled up with stonework, and others having been forced out, where there were formerly only loop-holes), yet it may clearly be seen, that there were originally large and open windows *only* on the grand floor, which was at a great height; and on that directly above it, at the very top of the tower.

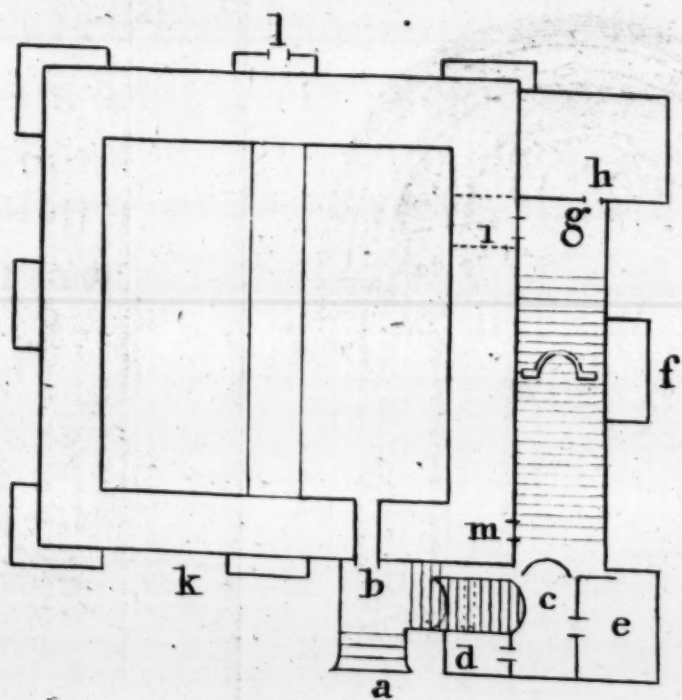
ANOTHER building that well deserves attention, and may, with great propriety, be mentioned on this occasion, in order to illustrate and confirm what has been said, is the castle at Norwich; a most noble specimen of Saxon architecture.

THERE is indeed a tradition, of its having been built in its present form, by Roger Bigot, about the time of William Rufus; and of its having been finally compleated, by Thomas de Brotherton, even so late as in the time of Edward II: but I cannot help suspecting all this to be a mistake: for though it may be true, with regard to the out-works, and the many great buildings inclosed within the limits and outward walls of this castle, which were formerly very extensive and numerous, that a great part of them were built and compleated by those two powerful lords; yet as to the keep, or master tower (the only considerable part now remaining), the stile of its architecture is in many respects so different from that of the towers erected in the reigns of William Rufus, and Henry I. and II. and the ornaments are so different from those which were in use in  
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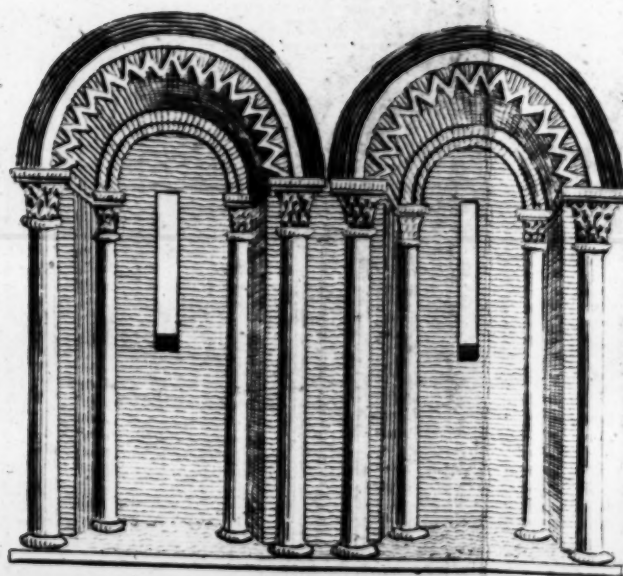




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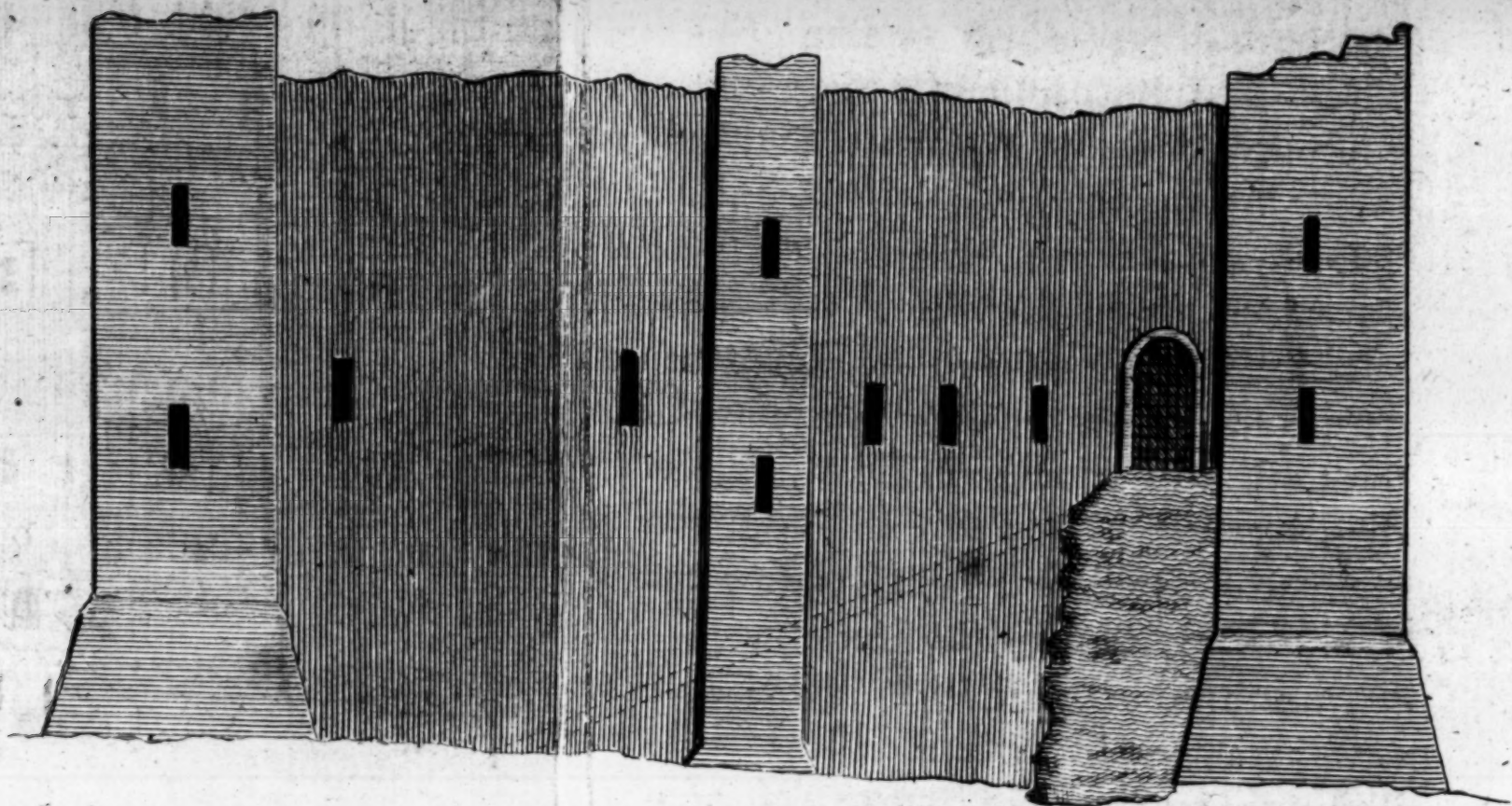


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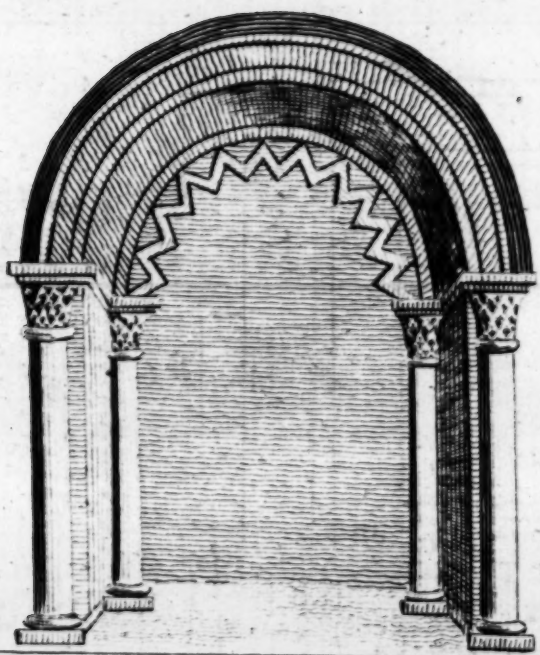


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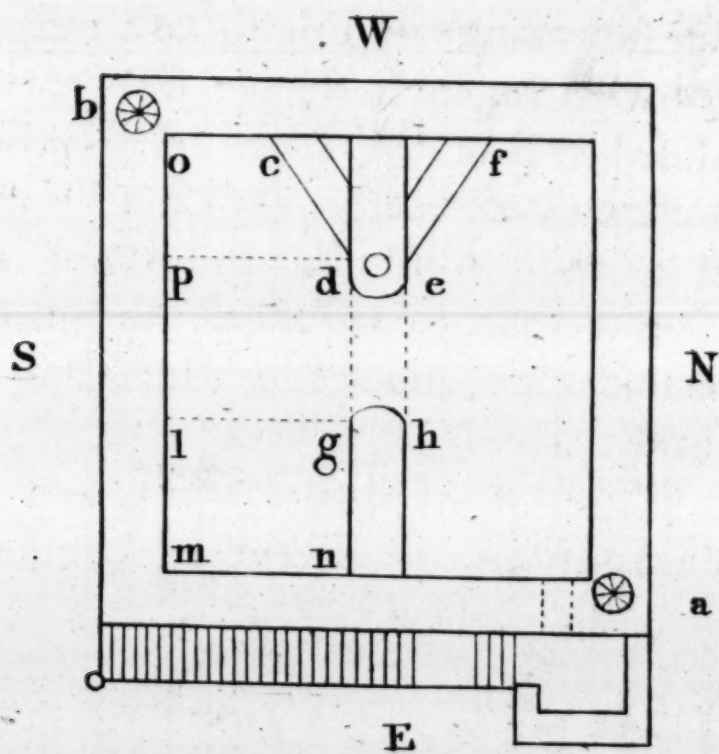




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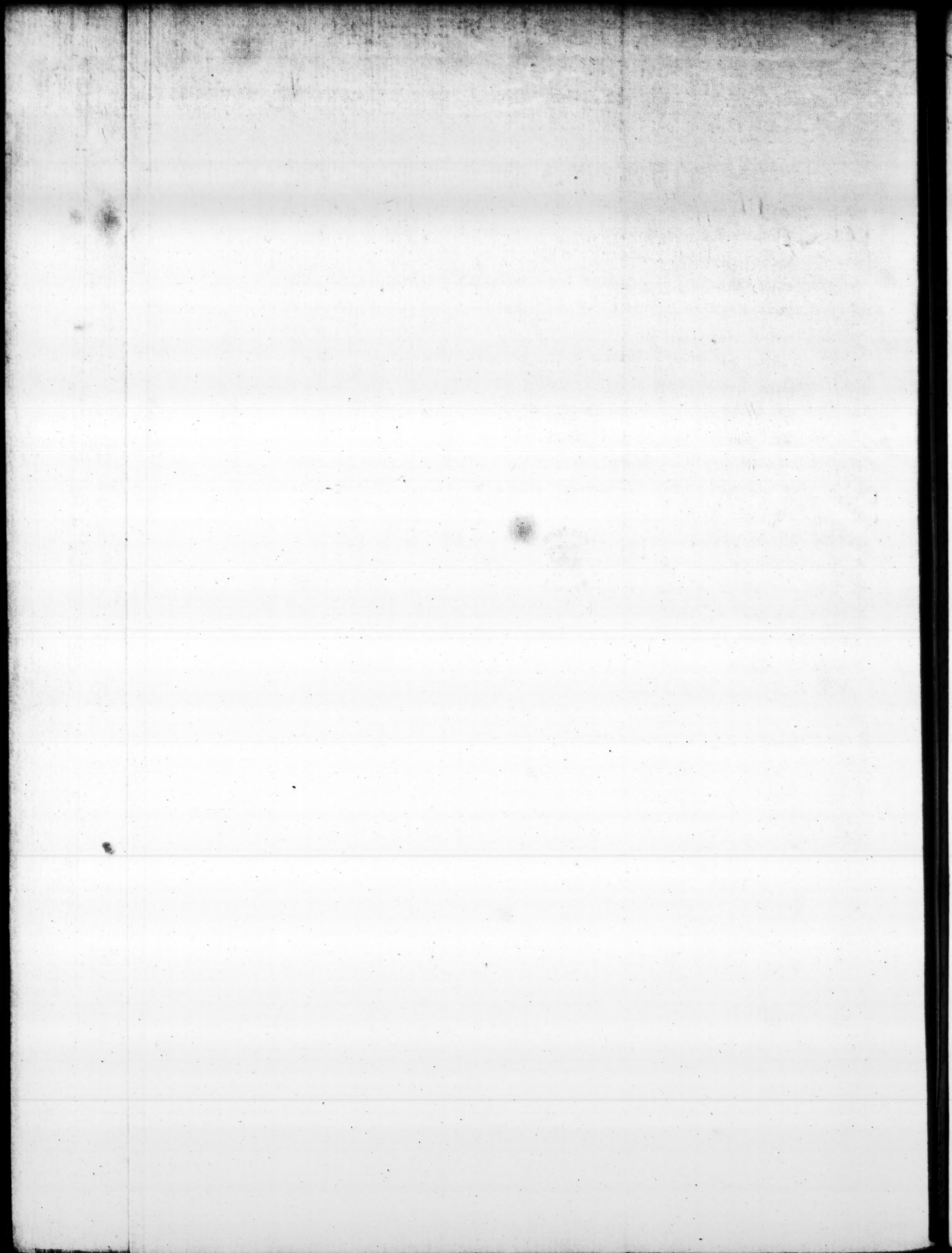


F. XVIII.



F. XX.







the reign of Edward II. (when *pointed* arches had been long introduced, and were esteemed the most elegant of any), that I cannot but think this building of much greater antiquity, and compleatly Saxon \*; though it is possible the stair-case might be repaired, or even rebuilt, by Thomas de Brotherton, whose arms are to be seen on a part of the wall. In short, as to the main body of this building, I take it to be the very tower which was erected about the time of king Canute; who, though himself a Dane, yet undoubtedly made use of many Saxon architects; as the far greater number of his subjects were Saxons. And I am the rather induced to form this conclusion, because I can find no *authentic* account whatever of the destruction of the castle built in Canute's time, either by war, or by accident; or of its being taken down, in order to erect the present structure; as is supposed by some.

BUT whether I am right, or mistaken, in the idea I have formed of the æra of this building, certain it is, that all its ornaments are in the true Saxon stile; and whatever reparations have been made in it at different times, have been very carefully made to conform thereto; so that it deserves to be considered as one of the most compleat Saxon remains in England: as the bridge leading to it, is indeed unquestionably one of the noblest and most perfect Saxon arches now extant. And I cannot help observing, on this occasion, that the resemblance which the devices, and the mode of fortification, both in this Saxon castle, and in that at Colchester, have to those built even in the

\* That the Saxons ornamented many of their buildings very richly, is manifest from the Church at Barfreston in Kent; from the well-known Tower at St. Edmunds Bury; and from two church towers at Dover and Sandwich, which are both richly adorned with pilasters, and small round arches, as this castle is.



more improved Norman times, seems to indicate, that the general plan was taken from structures of a still earlier date than either. Especially as the description given by Josephus of the tower of Antonia at Jerusalem, may lead us to suspect this mode of building to have been very antient indeed, and to have been known and introduced even before the age in which he lived.

In taking a survey of this castle at Norwich, we shall find almost precisely the same cautions used as in that at Rochester. And amongst these, the first and most striking circumstance that offers itself to our attention, is the antient mode of entrance, of which there still remain very strong and visible marks.

It was manifestly by means of a large stone stair-case, running along the eastern front \* of the building, and ascending to a very beautiful little tower, at the north-east corner, (see Fig. XXVI.) Pl. XXV. The wall of this stair-case is shewn in this sketch. And as a great part thereof still remains entire, with two little antient windows that were in it, I have represented the whole detached from several little sheds and buildings, that are at present erected upon it, which much disfigure this front, and form a roof and covering to the steps, whereas they were formerly open to the air. Upon these steps (which, though they have been often repaired, appear pretty nearly in their original situation), are two great stone-arched door-ways, one over (a), and the other over (c); both whereof formerly had great and strong gates to them. And beyond these, higher up, and just under the uppermost window, is still a platform; where the steps are for a space discontinued; and where there is every mark of there having been a draw-bridge. Beyond this is a larger arch, with stone pillars on each side;

\* This front of the castle is not precisely facing the east; but rather inclines a little towards the south. Its length is 92 feet 10 inches; and the length of the north front, as also of the south front, is 98 feet.

and



and from this platform the steps begin again, and were continued quite up to the first grand portal; the outside of which is visible at (b), only now bricked up.

BEYOND this, there does not appear to have been originally any entrance to the inside of the castle whatever; except by a small, narrow, arched passage, some feet from the ground on the outside, and directly under where the draw-bridge was; being now the passage, from the inside of the castle, to the debtors cell; and that through which the present entrance is into the lower part of the castle. The debtors grate is represented just over (o); and this little passage, which was unquestionably the old sally-port, is just behind it. We see here, therefore, almost precisely the same precautions used as at Rochester\*. And as there is this resemblance between the approach to the first grand portal here, and that at Rochester; so, in the next place, we find here also a vestibule in the little tower, between it and the second portal. Which vestibule was, in like manner, much exposed, and, in appearance, carelessly defended: for each of the three great arches, seen at (c), together with a fourth, at the north end of the room, though now bricked up, were formerly left entirely open; as most manifestly appears, from the manner in which they are bricked up. And they are so large, and take up so great a part of the side walls, that this vestibule must have had almost the appearance of an open portico, rather than of a room; and must have been a very beautiful ornament to the castle; whilst its great height, and its being (as at Rochester) merely the passage between the first and second portal, rendered this circumstance no ways detrimental in case of a close siege. At present, indeed, this vestibule not only has

\* As to a little square door, at a considerable height upon the steps, on one side, it seems manifestly a modern breach, very rudely made.



its arches bricked up, but it is also divided into two rooms, one over the other; and it is in the upper room principally that the remains of the two portals are to be discovered. We there see, directly opposite to the three arches represented at (c), one vast arch, in the wall of the castle, reaching quite across the whole side of the vestibule; and under this a second great arch, but of lesser dimensions, which was the second portal; and still under this, in the lower room, may be discerned the remains of the side pillars. Again in the upper chamber also, near the floor, at the south end, may be discerned the top of the first great portal; the outside whereof is visible at (b). There is still preserved a passage from this vestibule into the castle: and on one side of it is a small arch, now walled up, communicating with a winding stair-case at that corner, which went to the top of the castle, as is shewn at (a) in the plan, fig. XX. Pl. XXIV.

BUT there was one great singularity in this little tower that contained the vestibule, which ought not to pass unnoticed: for under the vestibule was originally an open arch; and a vaulted room; or rather recess; left quite exposed to the area before the castle: its roof, or cieling, being richly decorated with intersecting arches; which it must have had a fine effect, and have greatly increased the beautiful appearance of this front. Notwithstanding however its seeming so light and airy, it was by no means a weak part of the building; for the side walls of this recess are of extraordinary strength; and the wall at the back of it, adjoining to the castle, is eleven feet thick. And indeed, as being the very strongest part of the castle, the front arch (originally open) is now filled up, and this recess is converted into the felons cell; whose grate is seen over (p), fig. XXVI; the entrance to it being now made in the side wall, from the debtors cell. It is further to be observed, that the vestibule and portal,  
and



and the top of the stairs, being here at so great an height, there were not any windows whatever in this eastern front of the castle, except in the stair-case, and in the vestibule itself. For on the level with the grand apartments there were only loop-holes, and those in the places where they are represented fig. XXVI. All the arches that appear in this front being merely ornamental, as well as the pilasters against the wall: and even the two at (d), which have so much the appearance of a window, being, most manifestly, only a fantastic variation of ornament, probably placed there even by way of deception. But on all the other sides of the castle were very magnificent windows, at a great height, on the same floor where the principal and state apartments were situated: four of which may be seen within the four great arches of the west front, fig. XXVII. And that every one of these were in reality windows, is most evident, because the pillars and frames still remain entire, and they are filled up with materials quite different from those of the castle walls; some with brick, and some with rough stones and mortar. There is, however, on this side, a little lower down, at (f), a brick arch, and modern window; which must carefully be distinguished from the rest: it having been forced out in these latter ages, as appears most clearly from the breaks in the ornaments on the adjoining parts of the wall, where there never was any window or opening originally, except a loop-hole, and arch leading to it. The little door also at (g), fig. XXVII. which now is the entrance to one of the stair-cases of the castle, marked (b) in the plan, fig. XX. pl. XXIV. has in like manner, been forced out of late years, through the cavity where was a loop-hole.

It is also further to be remarked, with regard to this west front, that the space within the letters (h i k l) has been faced with *new work*; but all the other part of it appears most clearly



to be the old wall, and to have the original ornaments still remaining. And even the new work has been finished in a manner exactly fuitable thereto; and has preserved the windows in the very places where the perforations of the old ones were found: and has them ornamented in a manner similar to those on the other sides of the castle, and to the two other old and original ones on each side in this front. And it appears, that this new work is but of little thickness, and a mere facing of stone; for the old wall, with the original galleries therein, remains still entire behind it.

At (m) and (n), fig. XXVII. are the two arches which I have before mentioned in this castle, as being intended to deceive by an appearance of weakness. And in order to make the deception still stronger, there were in each of them four loopholes at the top, as here represented. When we come to examine the inside of the building, however, we not only find the wall as thick *here* as in any other part, but there are actually moreover two great buttresses, or rather two oblique walls, each supported by a great arch, and reaching from the middle wall to the back of these arches; which walls still remain, and are represented in the plan, fig. XX. at (c d, e f).

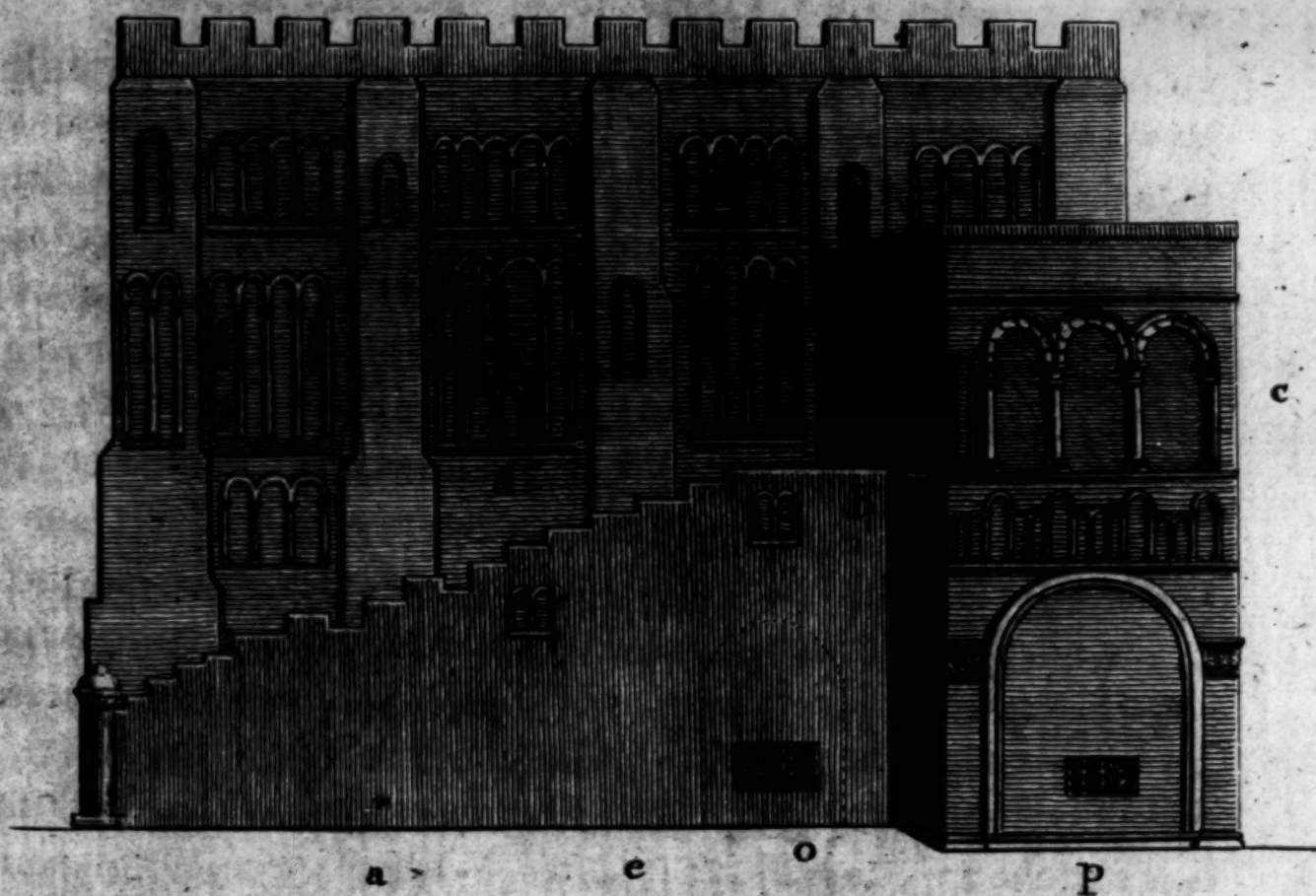
As to the inside of this castle; it having been long used as a common county gaol, it is so built up with a variety of rooms, cells, and offices, and all the great arches leading to the loopholes are so carefully bricked up, that many curious particulars, and marks of the old mode of fortification, can no longer be seen. Enough however remains, to merit attention.

AND on this occasion I cannot but observe, with regard to this castle (and would beg leave to extend the observation to many others also), that although it appears upon record, that it was used as a prison long ago, and even so early as in the reign of

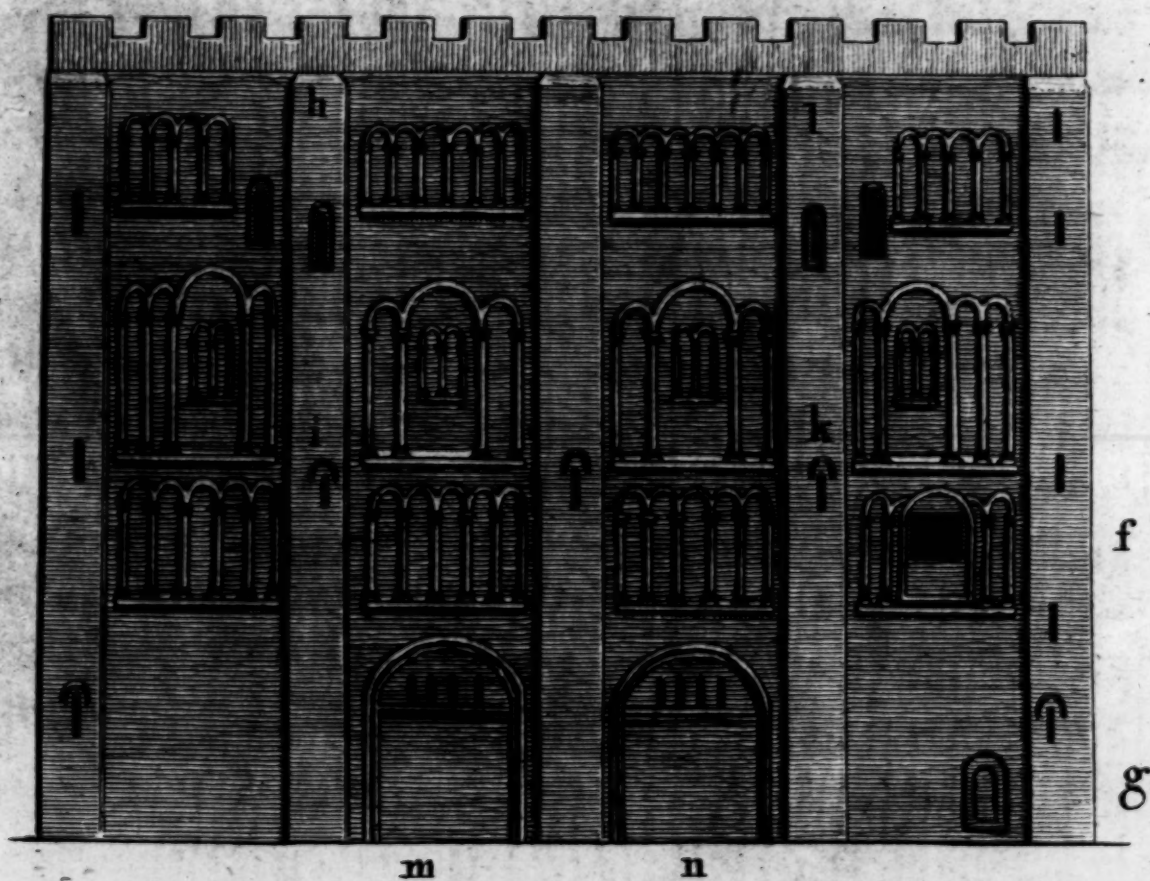
of



F  
XXVI.



F  
XXVII









of Henry I. yet we must by no means conceive from thence, that it was used for that purpose *only*; and that the whole building was, from the first, a mere prison, as it now is. For the real fact seems (from many circumstances) to have been merely this; that the dungeons, or vaults, of this, or of other castles, so said to have been prisons, were appointed by royal authority to be public and privileged prisons at *all times*; whereas the dungeons of other castles were permitted to be used as such only in time of war, and it was unlawful at other times to confine any persons therein; whilst the upper apartments of *all* these towers, in both cases, were constantly used as state apartments, for the residence of great officers, and of their attendants, notwithstanding the prisons underneath. And hence, perhaps, arose the practice, in early times, of committing state prisoners to the custody of different lords, at pleasure; which was continued down to the time of Henry VIII., when the origin of it was forgotten.

THE inside of this castle, instead of containing an open yard, as it does now, was filled up with the floors of most magnificent and spacious apartments. And, although the timbers are at present removed, and only small sheds are built against the walls, yet traces of the original disposition of the whole may plainly be discovered, by any person accustomed to examine these kind of buildings: and there are still visible the marks of the strong partition-wall, running across from west to east. In the middle part, this wall is thrown down from (d e) to (g h), fig. XX. pl. XXIV.; but one of the gaolers, still living, remembers the foundations of that part being discovered under the pavement of the present yard; and that on digging down by the side of it, they found great arches of communication made through it, underground, and the obvious remains of vaults or dungeons.



It appears also, that the apartments, on the ground-floor of this castle, were vaulted over with stone: for a great part of the old vault, at (g l m n), still remains, and also the great stone arches of the buttresses (e d e f), and a stone vaulting over a part where the present chapel \* is, between (c d) and (o p).

At (d e), where appears the remaining projection of the partition-wall, may be seen a part rounded off, and now cased with brick, having the appearance of a round tower: and in the middle of this a deep, circular, cavity of stone work, like the pipe of a well; which has been filled up in the memory of persons now living: here therefore was, in all probability, the original well, in the wall of the castle; as at Rochester and Canterbury. And it appears that there was also a passage to it from one of the galleries, through the wall; the entrance to which is now bricked up, but still visible.

As to the galleries themselves, a part of them still remains, and it is manifest that there were two; one nearly on the level with the state apartments; and the other still higher up in the building: both seeming to have been constructed much like those at Rochester, having small ascents and descents in them, to pass over the places where the chimnies went through the walls.

BUT as to those chimnies, or any of the other passages, or cavities in the walls, they are all here so carefully stopped up, and have so many buildings erected against them, that little or nothing is to be discerned as to their situation or structure. The stair-case also at the south west corner (being made use of to lead to that which is now the hospital of the castle), has its ancient entrance at the bottom at present stopped

\* The ancient chapel, mentioned in old records as being in this castle, must have been, most probably, on a level with the principal floor and state apartments; and could not have been originally here, where there was neither light nor a convenient approach.

up,



up, so as to have no communication with the inside of the building, except just with those apartments; and the lower entrance of it now is only through the forced door-way, at (g), fig. XXVII. And as to the other stair-case, at the north east corner, that is walled up entirely.

HAVING been thus particular in the description of these four castles, I shall more briefly describe the few others which I think it necessary to refer to.

AND the next I shall mention is Portchester: where again we find the great tower entered originally much in the same manner; for it has still remaining a stair-case on the outside, at (a b), fig. XXI. pl. XXIII. at the top of which was the grand portal; and a vestibule at (g), with a second portal in it. And on each side this vestibule were two rooms; one of which, (c), served for a chapel; and the other, (d), tradition says, is that wherein Queen Elizabeth lodged, when she visited Portsmouth.

THIS tower was exceeding lofty, and had *four* floors; but there were no large windows on any of them, except in the third story. Which is very high; and on which were the state apartments. There was also one other great singularity in this building; that as it stands not in the middle of the castle area, or detached from the outworks, like most other towers; but at one corner of that area, and on the very outermost wall; and was therefore, at all times, exposed to the enemies attacks; it had no windows, even on the floor where the grand apartments were, on the outside next the country; but only windows on the two sides that were next the court of the castle: and all the rest of the apartments had only loop-holes on any side, with steps up to them, as at Rochester.

THERE was undoubtedly a well in this tower, at the corner, at (e), the pipe of which was carried up to the floors above, but not quite to the top. It is now filled up; but the stone work of it is clearly to be discerned on the ground, as well as the remainder of the pipe ascending upwards.



AND there was also a round stair-case, at (f). And in many places are large remains that clearly indicate the lower apartments to have been all vaulted with stone. And there is, moreover at a considerable height, one appearance in the walls, within the tower, which I confess I do not at all know how to account for : namely that of, four curious stone mouldings; two of which are fixed against one of the walls, in each of the two great divisions of the tower, in the form of a V, and reach from side to side : they are manifestly wrought with great care ; but whether they contain flues, or pipes, for the conveyance of sound, or were for any other purpose, must be left to conjecture merely ; and therefore ought not, without further examination, to be asserted.

THE next castle I shall mention, that of Colchester, built most probably in the time of the Saxons, by Edward the Elder, one would suspect, at first sight, to be very different from those already described ; but on a nearer inspection it will be found to have been originally much the same. For as to the present grand portal, or gate-way, on the ground, on the south side of this building ; notwithstanding it is a most finished piece of workmanship, and plainly no forced entrance, like many others ; yet it will be found (like the present magnificent stair-case at Dover) to be indeed antiquated itself ; but not to have been the original entrance.

WHOEVER examines it carefully will find, that although it has a groove remaining for a portcullis, and although there were also ancient seats within the gate for the wardours, yet that the whole of this portal is plainly not of the same workmanship with the rest of the castle ; but was inserted in later ages, near the principal circular stair-case ; when the improvements in the art of war had rendered the old devices less useful. And on this occasion, I cannot help observing, that such kind of insertions of large masses of new work (though themselves

of



of a very remote date) in more ancient structures, are not at all unusual; and are to be met with in some of our cathedrals. There is a remarkable instance of this kind in the cathedral church of Norwich; where we find, in the west front, one of the most magnificent great windows in England; although the whole of that part of the building is known to have been erected in the time of Henry I. long before such kind of windows came in use; and carries with it evident marks of that age. And the fact is, that this window was inserted, as a complete piece of frame work, the old solid wall having been cut away for that purpose, in the time of Henry VI.; when the great west door, which has a pointed arch, was also constructed. In proof whereof I may add, that upon making a late repair, it was found that the frame of stone work was so totally distinct from the rest of the front wall, as even to have flown considerably therefrom.

BUT, to return to Colchester castle; on the north side are the manifest vestiges of the ancient and original entrance; for there we find an arched gate, or portal, at a considerable height, bricked up, as is shewn fig. XXII. pl. XXIV. and directly under it are the remains of strong foundations of a stair-case, or adjoining building, as at Canterbury; the marks also of the steps, from thence downwards, are plainly to be discerned on the wall. And adjoining to this arch, on the inside, is a narrow gallery, and also a small round stair-case, which does not descend any lower down, but goes from thence up to the top of the building. And the other larger stair-case, which went from the bottom of the castle to the top, was for security placed on the opposite side, at a great distance from this entrance. There are no large windows now remaining in the walls: that is, none of those that were placed in this building originally. For the whole upper part of it has been taken down, nearly as far as the  
the



the floor of the old state rooms, in which apartments alone such windows were placed. And as to the present great windows in the room which has, with so much taste, been fitted up as a library by Mr. Gray, and in that adjoining, they were forced out, only a few years ago, with much labour, in places where there were originally only loop-holes. Neither is there now remaining any inclosed gallery, going quite round the castle, within the thickness of the walls. But the vestiges of such a passage may very plainly be traced at the very top of the walls as they now stand; the walk that is there at present, sunk in the midst of the walls like a sort of channel, being most evidently the bottom part of such a gallery. Which circumstance has been very judiciously observed by Mr. Strutt, who has given a very curious account of this building. The chimnies, whereof four at least still remain, and the drains, are all constructed much in the same manner as those at Rochester. And the ascent to all the loop-holes is by steps under the arches, as in those of the lowermost story of that castle: but the structure of the arches themselves, at the top, is here very different; they being made shelving down towards the loop-holes; which must have admitted weapons from without more easily, and have been attended with inconvenience. Probably, this being one of the earliest buildings of the kind in England, the method of sloping the arches the contrary way, as a *further* precaution, was not then invented or thought of.

THIS castle is of vast dimensions, being about 168 feet in length, and 127 in breadth; and there must have been three or four magnificent rooms, at least, on every floor.

THE deception with regard to the round tower at one corner of it (the walls of which are above 20 feet thick), I have before taken notice of. And Mr. Morant informs us, that there was remaining, about thirty or forty years ago, a very fine well within



within the building, which was soon after that time destroyed, by one Wheeley: and, unless I was much mistaken, I perceived traces of it in the remaining part of the foundations of one of the cross walls, now pulled down.

I SHALL only just add, that the present little entrance into the castle, through the east wall, adjoining to what is now the yard of the prison, appears to me to have been no sally-port, but merely a way forced through the arch of an old loop-hole: and another door-way has been still more rudely forced out in the north front, at a little distance beneath the ancient original portal; the representation of which I have omitted in the sketch of that front, to avoid confusion.

THERE remains now to be mentioned, by way of illustration, only one more building of this sort, Guilford castle; of which I shall add a short description, both because it is a most venerable piece of antiquity, that deserves to be saved from oblivion; and on account of its having some great particularities in it worth notice. As to the rest, in different parts of this kingdom, that might be referred to, I shall only say, they will, on inspection, be found, in general, to confirm the observations here made. It is not, however, to be expected, that every kind of device met with at Rochester should be found in all of them.

GUILFORD castle is smaller than any of those already described, although king John is known to have had his residence here sometimes; and once to have kept his birth-day in it. It is in dimensions only 42 feet and an half, by 47, or thereabouts; and contained only one room on a floor, having no partition-wall.

ON the ground floor there were no windows, nor even so much as loop-holes; but in the upper stories, there was one great window, near the middle, on each side; the form of which



was such as is represented fig. XXIII. pl. XXIII.: as to the rest of the present windows, they are all modern breaches; and even some of the old ones have plainly been altered, and repaired; and have even had frames and pillars of brick-work inserted. The present entrance also is manifestly a breach made in these later ages. And the original entrance may be still perceived to have been undoubtedly through a stone arch, in the midst of the west front, at a considerable height; and must have been approached by a stair-case, on the outside of the wall. This arch, in which is a great *peculiarity* (it being a *pointed* one, although of a date long before pointed arches were introduced into common use \*), still remains very perfect. And although it now passes for a window; yet that it was the ancient portal, is manifest, both from the stone arch within, which exactly corresponds with it, and differs from the arches of all the windows; and also from hence, that whereas the windows on the other three sides are at the same height from the ground, this arch and portal is some feet lower, and its bottom level with the marks of the floor within. Its form may be seen rudely sketched, Fig. XXIV.

THERE was a circular stair-case in one corner of this castle: and there are also galleries in the thickness of the wall, as at Rochester. There is, likewise, one very odd piece of fortification; which is, the mock appearance of a false entrance, or sally port, at one corner, on the ground, seeming to be filled

\* In a very curious manuscript, which I was once favoured with a sight of, containing an account of the late earl of Strathmore's travels through Spain, mention is made of a like singularity: for in the Aqueduct near Segovia, which was undoubtedly built in the time of Trajan, there are also some pointed arches.



up with large square stones, of a different kind from the rest of the castle; and having, in order to increase the deception, machicolations over it, at a great height, as if to defend it from attacks. See Fig. XXV. Pl. XXIII.

I MIGHT extend these general observations much further, to the consideration of many other castles; but to avoid being unnecessarily tedious, shall only add, that although there was another mode of fortification, namely, that of having a *round* tower, or keep, on the top of a steep artificial mount; yet even here the same kind of rules were, in some measure, observed; as within those very keeps there must have been magnificent rooms in their upper stories; if we pay any regard to what Dr. Borlase has said, in his account of those castles, which were the places of residence of the ancient dukes of Cornwall.

AND where we find, besides a keep on an hill, an additional tower, communicating with it, by means of a gallery, or covered way and drawbridge, as at Tunbridge; such additional tower had also magnificent apartments in the upper stories; and was fortified much in the same manner as has been here described; only the entrance was not so carefully secured; the great strength of all being in the keep, to which a retreat might be made through the covered way.

IN all, however, the rule of having the state apartments very high, and generally in the third story, was invariably observed.

AND hence perhaps we may account for an odd circumstance, in some very magnificent modern houses, built on the site of ancient castles; namely, that the grand apartments are there also on the third story, where, in other houses, we usually find only the Attic story, and apartments of an inferior kind.

THIS is remarkably the case at Chatsworth, the seat of the duke of Devonshire, in Derbyshire; and at Belvoir castle, the



seat of the duke of Rutland, in Lincolnshire. Probably these noble houses, being built on the site of antient castles, where the state rooms were always on that story, this old custom was preserved, both as a mark of ancient dignity, and as a proof of their original.

I MIGHT mention many passages, in Holinshed, and other ancient authors, which may be explained, and illustrated, by means of the account here given; and especially such as relate to the sieges of these castles; and to the residence of many royal personages, with their courts, within their walls, and in these very towers, which have often, through mistake, been conceived to have been mere dungeons, from their being called Keeps: but the doing so would render this paper too long; and would be an improper intrusion on the time and patience of the Society, which has already perhaps been too much broken in upon. I shall therefore only just extract one curious piece of history, relating to Rochester castle, which will strongly confirm the observations I have ventured to make on the strength of this building, and on the mode of defence. “ King  
 “ John (says Holinshed) \* having recovered strength about  
 “ him, and being advertised that William de Albanie was  
 “ entered into the castle of Rochester, with a great number of  
 “ knights, men of arms, and other soldiers, hasted thither  
 “ with his whole army, and besieged them within; inforcing  
 “ himself by all ways possible to win the castle, as well by  
 “ battering the walls with engines, as by giving thereto many  
 “ assaults: but the garrison within, consisting of ninety and  
 “ four knights, besides demilances, and other soldiers, de-  
 “ fended the place very manfully, in hope of rescue from the  
 “ barons. At length they within, *for want of vittels*, were

\* Holinshed, v. iii. p. 188. b.

“ constrained



“constrained to yield it unto the king, after it had been be-  
“sieged the space of threescore days.—And true it is, there  
“had been no siege, in those days, more earnestly inforced,  
“nor more obstinately defended: for after that all the limmes  
“of the castell had been reversed, and thrown down, they kept  
“the master tower, till half thereof was overthrown; and after  
“kept the other half, till, through famine, they were constrained  
“to yield, having nothing but horse-flesh and water to sustain their  
“lives withall.”

DEAR SIR,

I am extremely obliged to you for the notice and admiration, the  
late discovery of the Church, in Hampshire, may justify  
either the wonder of the curious and inquisitive. At that an-  
cient monastery, now the seat of my most respected friend,  
Gustavus Bower, esp. the prior, who was a very considerable  
ecclesiastic, though not married, had his proper refectory,  
with a chapel adjoining. At the entrance of this chapel, just  
within the walls a gate stood, two feet more inches long, and  
two feet wide, was observed to be cemented with lead to the  
roof of the pavement, which railing, by such an extraordinary

XXVI. Mr.



XXVI. *Mr. Pegge's Remarks on the Bones of Fowls  
found in Christchurch-Twynham, Hampshire. In  
a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Dec. 5, 1776.

To the Rev. MR. NORRIS.

DEAR SIR,

**I**F singularity be any motive for surprize and admiration, the late discovery at Christ-Church, in Hampshire, may justly excite the wonder of the curious and inquisitive. At that ancient monastery, now the seat of my most respected friend, Gustavus Brander, esq. the prior, who was a very considerable ecclesiastic [a], though not mitred, had his proper refectory, with a chapel adjoining. At the entrance of this chapel, just within the walls, a flat stone, two feet nine inches long, and two feet wide, was observed to be cemented with lead to the rest of the pavement, which raising, by such an extraordinary

[a] The revenues were valued, 26 H. VIII. at £. 312. 7s. 0d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; or, as Speed has it, at £. 544. 6s.

circum-



circumstance, the curiosity of the worthy proprietor, he thought proper to have the stone taken up, in order to examine, whether something of consequence might not lie concealed underneath; when, to his great astonishment, he found only a vast quantity of the bones of fowls, to the amount nearly of half a bushel, as of hens and cocks (as the spurs shewed), and of herons and bitterns, as plainly could be discerned by the uncommon length of the *tibiae* [b].

THIS is the fact; a fact of so extraordinary a nature, that there is certainly some difficulty in accounting for it. And yet the appearance is so uncommon [c], so *new*, I suppose I may say, to all our English antiquaries, that one may be tempted to endeavour to elucidate it, though it were only by conjecture; and indeed nothing more than conjecture can be offered or expected in the case.

Now there is no imaginable reason for preserving the bones of fowls by interment, and in a religious place, from their use as viands; and therefore one is compelled to seek out for some more probable cause. And there seems to be no absurdity in supposing, that in more ancient times there had stood a Pagan temple on the site of our chapel.

For first, we read in Jeffrey of Monmouth, “ that the holy  
“ doctors [Faganus and Duvanus] after they had almost extin-  
“ guished Paganism over the whole island [of Britain], de-  
“ dicated the temples that had been founded in honour of many  
“ Gods, to the one only God and his Saints, and filled them  
“ with congregations of Christians [d].” That is, they con-

[b] See Mr. Brander's own account of them, p. 117. Art. IX. of this volume,

[c] I have been shewn, by my friend Mr. Gough, some such bones, which he himself took out of a vault, just then opened, in or near St. Mary's Abbey, York, but not in so large a quantity, about six or eight years ago.

[d] Jeffr. Monm. iv. c. 19. v. c. i.



verted the old temples of the idolatrous Britons into Christian churches; and whatever may become of Jeffrey's authority in certain other respects, his flamens and archflamens, for instance, one may rationally give credit to his testimony in regard to the practice of the first Christians concerning the religious structures of the Pagans; especially as the proceeding was exactly conformable to the directions which Gregory the Great afterwards gave in relation to the same matter. He bids Mellitus tell Augustine, "Quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi, videlicet quia [i. e. quod] *fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant*; sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construuntur, reliquiae ponantur: quia *si fana eadem bene constructa sunt necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari*:" and then he adds the reason for this measure, and a sensible one it is, especially when taken in conjunction with that of preserving so many useful and substantial edifices, "Ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, *ad loca quae consuevit familiariter concurrat* [e]." Thus Ol. Wormius, speaking of a singular old Church, says, *Suspicio Fanum fuisse idolatricum in Christianos usus tandem conversum* [f]. Thus an heathen temple at Canterbury was turned into a church, and dedicated to St. Pancrace, as Thorne reports [g]. Mr. Somner, indeed, disputes this fact, because Bede has omitted it; but little, methinks, can be concluded from the silence of a general writer, who lived so remote, concerning

[e] Bede, l. c. 30.

[f] Mon. Dan. p. 490.

[g] Gul. Thorne, inter X Script. col. 1760.



a single transaction of so *particular* a nature. Boniface IV. however, who acceded but four years after St. Gregory, actually converted the Pantheon at Rome into the church of *the blessed Virgin and all the Martyrs* [b]. And, to take no notice of the temple of Apollo at St. Peter's, Westminster, which Mr. Widmore treats as a groundless fiction [i], the cathedral of St. Paul, London, was first founded and erected, as many think, in the very place where there had stood a temple of Diana [k]. For though the very learned Bishop Stillingfleet has endeavoured to combat this notion [l], yet in Bishop Gibson's opinion it ought not to be totally or hastily rejected [m].

ADMITTING then the custom of converting Heathen temples into Christian churches, it is very natural to suppose in the next place, that the missionaries of that age would, in all common policy, give the least offence possible to their Pagan neighbours; on the contrary, that they would incline to shew all respect to their places of worship consistent with the fundamentals and the purity of their own religion; that they would do every thing in their power to invite them to embrace the new way of worship, and nothing that might alienate their minds, or exasperate them against it. So that though the idols themselves were commanded to be destroyed [n], yet in other matters it was thought prudent for the preachers to condescend to the weakness of the people, and to accommodate themselves and

[b] Platina, p. 103.

[i] Enq. into Found. of Westminster Abbey, p. 2.

[k] Camd. col. 377. seq. Newcourt, Repert. L. p. 2.

[l] Stillingfleet, Disc. on Antiq. of London, p. 542. seq.

[m] Gibson in Camd. col. 378.

[n] Beda, l. cap. 30. iii. c. 8.



their ceremonials to their prejudices. You shall hear St. Gregory again, upon this head, and a passage it is exceedingly remarkable, “ *Et quia boves solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua solemnitas immutari; ut die dedicationis, vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum quorum illie reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa eadem ecclesias quae ex fanis commutatae sunt de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosi convivii solemnitatem celebrent; nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, et ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant: ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant. Nam duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gaudiis vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur. Sic, &c. [o].*” Hence then I conclude, that the Christian missionaries, when they found the bones either of beasts or birds, which on any account had once been deemed sacred, would not wantonly scatter them abroad, especially when they met with them collected together in a certain place, but would permit them to remain there unmolested, in order to avoid giving a needless, and perhaps an hurtful disgust.

I OBSERVE, 3dly, that there was a religious foundation at Christ-Church, in the reign of king Edward the Confessor, consisting of a dean and 24 secular canons [p]. How long it had been in being before, is not known; but in all probability, as it was so large an establishment, it had been many years in growing to that eminence, and was consequently of very

[o] Beda, l. c. 30.

[p] Tanner, Notit. p. 158.



ancient erection. Christ-Church lay so near to Winchester, the Venta Belgarum, and the capital of the great and opulent kingdom of Wessex, that one needs not wonder it should be founded early in the Saxon times. I say the Saxon times, because we do not find it ever had a Roman appellation, and its old names Twinham or Twinamburne [q], so plainly bespeaks its Saxon original. Ought we not therefore to conclude, from the several matters here stated, that this private chapel of the prior was erected on the site of some ancient Heathen temple? The aboriginal Britons, it is true, had no temples, but then they had groves where they performed their sacrifices; and as they were not unacquainted with our domestic poultry, though they did not use them in the way of food [r], no one can pretend to say, they might not apply them to certain purposes of religion, especially as the Druids committed nothing to writing, and so little is consequently known concerning the minutiae of their ritual. But be this as it may, the Romans occupied this part of the island very early, Vespasian having conquered it in the reign of Claudius [s], so that the Belgae soon became *romanised* by adopting all the religious practices of their conquerors. And besides that the cock was sacred to Apollo, Mercury, Aesculapius, and more particularly to Mars [t], we all know what regard the Romans had for their Auspicia, and that one sort of auguries was taken from the motions and actions of chickens kept in a coop. These birds were esteemed highly sacred amongst them, and this cer-

[q] Camd. col. 134. Lambarde, Top. Dict. p. 373.

[r] Caesar de B. G. V. cap. 12.

[s] Camd. col. 131.

[t] Archaeologia Soc. Antiq. III. p. 139.



tainly may sufficiently account for the preservation of their bones, when they happened to die, by the Romanizing Britons before their conversion to Christianity.

I am, Sir, &c.

Whittington, May  
25, 1776.

**SAMUEL PEGGE.**

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